Journal of the
ANDHRA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XIII. DEC. 1940 & APRIL 1941, PARTS 3 & 4.

THE SORAS

G. V. SITAPATI, B. A., L. T.

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 207 above)

RELIGION

Part I Magico - Religious phenomena

The Soras live in a world of Spirits and Deities which are believed to direct and control, with their superior powers, the course of nature and of human life. Of these spirits and deities, a few are distinctly benign, some are indifferent or neutral but many are generally malign. The Soras, therefore, devote a great part of their time, energy and money to propitiate or please all of them; they worship the benign with a sense of gratitude, they attempt to appease the wrath of the indignant and malignant spirits and to keep them in good temper with the customary offerings and sacrifices; and they occasionally worship the indifferent or neutral spirits. To avert or get relief from the evil of the malignant spirits, the Soras have recourse to spells, incantations and other rites of a magical nature. It is not possible to distinguish the religious and the magical character of the beliefs and practices of the Soras, because when they worship a spirit or attempt to ward off an evil, they combine both religions and magical methods in such a manner that they cannot be easily distinguished. The magical element is also present when the Soras attempt to cure a disease by medicine.[1] Every medicine-man among them is supposed to be endowed with magical powers. The Soras fully believe that in curing a disease, neither the propitiation of the spirits nor the treatment by medicine nor a combination of both of them is efficacious without a mixture of magical spells or practices.

1. Vide Part II below.

In these circumstances, it is safe and proper to use the expression "Magico-Religious" in describing the relations between the Soras and the spirits and deities, worshipped and propitiated by them. Almost every important item of the life of the Soras is associated with their Magico-Religious beliefs and practices.

THE CEREMONIES, RITES AND FESTIVALS

These may be grouped under two classes: those that relate to the individual families in the village and those that relate to the village as a whole. The former consist of the ceremonies and rites relating to the birth of a child, the first share given to the child's head, marriage and death; and the latter, to the agricultural operations, the harvest festivals, the biennial or triennial '*guār*. (literally meaning the fixing up of the stone slabs) in memory of the deceased. The former are the concern of the individual families who bear the expense and are responsible for their performance according to the prevailing custom called in Sora language *ukkā*. The society, identical with the village, is not, however, indifferent to their performance. The elders of every other house in the village are invited to attend the ceremonies and rites performed in any one house. On such an occasion, there is generally a feast but every house that is invited to it takes a measure of rice and vegetables varying with the number of members in the family to give relief to the host. Some of them render also adequate help in making the preparations. The festivals etc., included in the second group belong to the village as a whole. They are celebrated with the conjoint effort of all the families in the village. In the case of *guār*, however, the expense is borne only by the families of the deceased for whom the memorial stone slabs are fixed up. But every family contributes to the feast that follows the *guār* in the village. Very often friends and relations residing in other villages are invited to the *guār*. When they come to attend the *guār* function and stay on for the feast as well, they bring with them their contribution of rice and vegetables etc. [1]

The most interesting village festivals relate to the first crops of the year. The following is a list of them :—

Buroy'-an-a-adur' (=the festival relating to a kind of millet *panicum italicum*),

1. The principle that no man should be inconvenienced or burdened by too many guests is strongly developed among the Soras. A Sora was appointed in Parlakimedi as Government Sora interpretor. A large number of his friends and relations were coming to Parlakimedi either on business or to see the car festival in the town. The Sora interpretor used to invite them to his house; and whenever they accepted his invitation they used to take with them rice, vegetables etc. and help him and his wife in preparing the food.

Ganugay'-an-a-adur' = the festival relating to sweet potato, (*dioscorea alata*),

Kondem'-an-a-adur = the festival relating to the coarse variety of corn grown on the hills, which the Sora-deities prefer to the paddy grown on wet lands. In several places the Soras now raise a fine variety of paddy on wet lands and they call it *Saron* but they have no festival relating to this. The reason is apparent. The Soras restrict their festivals to the crops with which their ancestors were familiar. Several new crops are now raised such as paddy, horse-gram, green-gram, black-gram, Bengal-gram but they have no harvest festivals.[1]

Kur'oj-an-a-adur' = the festival relating to a kind of gram, called *holcus spicatus*,

Ōsā-n-a-adur =the festival relating to the raggee millet; a harvest festival performed before reaping the crop,

Rogō-n-a-adur = the festival relating to red-gram,

Tanku-n-a-dur = the festival relating to the stone of a (mango fruit). The Soras remove the stones from the unripe mango fruit, sprinkle salt and preserve them after they are well dried in the sun for a few days. They keep well for a year and use them in making soups.

Ud'an-a-adur = the festival relating to the ripe mango fruit.

The Soras eat about fifteen varieties of pot herbs that grow in their country. But only a few of them are honoured by a festival: *Baradab-an* = *bauhiria*; *satidda-n* = a kind of hemp.

Similarly there are a number of vegetables which the Soras eat but only a few of them are selected for festivals: *enlud-an* =cucumber, (*cūcumis sativis*.)

Of all the agricultural operations, it is only *pujjing-an* (= pulling out the weeds) that is considered worthy of a festival. *Osa-n-a-adur* mentioned above is celebrated at the crop before harvesting it. These festivals must have been instituted before the Soras learned to plough the land.

Not a single grain of the new crops, or a new leaf of the pot herbs or a fruit (ripe or unripe) of the trees mentioned above should be eaten or even tasted until and unless the festivals relating to them are celebrated. This rule is strictly enforced even in the case of children. As regards the crops, pot-herbs and the fruit of the trees, not mentioned in the list above, there is a general rule

1. In these names the first part in the name of the crop, -*an* is a nominal suffix, -*a* is a particle suffixed to form the genitive case and *adur* means festival. The nominal suffix after a vowel is only *n*.

that they should not be eaten before *dōdā-gūj-an* (the full noon of *Phalgun*, during February or March). This is apparently a rule of recent times formulated in accordance with the custom prevailing among the Oriyas and Telugus residing in the plains near the Sora country. On that day, there is a big fire to perpetuate the memory of *Kāmadahanam*, the burning of Cupid by Siva in all big centres particularly when the Oriya Bissoyees, the recent political heads reside. The villagers rush to the place and get fire from the burning pile of wood and put it in their hearths after they are well cleared and cleaned. The Soras very carefully keep on the fire in their hearths throughout the year. On the day on which the new fire is brought they set a pot on it and prepare a meal in which they put every edible fresh thing of the year—the leaves, the fruit, the grains, the tubers etc. But there is no particular festival attached to it apparently because this is a borrowed custom of recent times.

Before taking up the description of the various Sora ceremonies, rites and festivals,[1] I should like to give an account of the Sora deities and spirits because their worship is an inevitable factor of every ceremony, rite or festival.

SORA DEITIES AND SPIRITS

Kudān-an is the name of the Sora priest. It is only from these priests that we can get the names of the Sora deities and spirits. The ordinary Sora has no clear knowledge of them. The priests themselves say that the Sora deities and spirits are so innumerable that no one knows the names of all of them. They are sometimes revealed to them by deities themselves in the course of seances. It is very difficult to get an adequate or accurate information from the priests because they are generally reticent regarding their religion and often reluctant to reveal to others the secrets of their magico-religious practices. They would not chant the hymns except when they actually officiate and it is very difficult to commit them to writing when they are chanted, because they are either murmured in low tones or chanted too rapidly to be followed. In such circumstances, the list given below or an account of any of the deities and spirits cannot profess to be complete or quite accurate in all its details.

Sonum-an is the general name for the Sora deities and spirits. *Sum-an* is the contracted form of the word. In compound words, it is only the contracted form that should be used as the final member of the compound. Hence, we have names such as *Labō-Sum*[2] (= the

1. Vide Part III below for a detailed description.

2. The nominal suffix *-an* is optionally dropped in ordinary speech. In my monograph, I sometimes use it and sometimes drop it for the sake of economy of space.

deity of earth), *Raudā-sum* (=the spirit that produces catalepsy) and *Kannī-sum* (=another deity that also produces catalepsy). Though all deities and spirits may be called *Sōnums*, the Soras mention, by different names, several orders or classes of deities and spirits and include in the list, an order known by the name ef *Sōnums*. The word *Sōnum* is, therefore, used in a general sense when applied to any deity or spirit and in a restricted sense when applied to a particular order of deities and spirits.

A List of the Orders or Classes of Deities and Spirits.

1. Sōnum-an-ji	8. Daiyū-n-ji	15. Jalbā-n-ji
2. Bōnād-an-ji	9. Rājā-n-ji	16. Bulkā-n-ji
3. Jñōnād-an-ji	10. Pātarā-n-ji	17. Radōb-an-ji
4. Mannī-n-ji [1]	11. Kuārā-n-ji	18. Ragā-n-ji
5. Sunnī-n-ji	12. Adang-an-ji	19. Jojō-n-ji
6. Badōng-an-ji	13. Mallā-n-ji	20. Yoyō-n-ji
7. Kittung-an-ji	14. Bullū-n-ji	21. Kulbā-n-ji

(1) *Sōnum-an-ji* is the most important order to which belong the largest number of deities and spirits as detailed below. *-Sum(-an)* is generally added to the names irrespective of the sex of the deities and spirits; *boj(-an)*[2] is also used as an alternative to *-sum(-an)* irrespective of their sex, even in the case of deities, definitely known to be male, as, for example, *Uyung-boj-an*. This is rather confusing *-boj-an* in ordinary Sora language is used as a feminine suffix, *e. g. Gamang-boj-an* (the wife of a Gamang), *dukkarī-boj-an* (an old woman. The use of *-boj(-an)* as in these cases shows that it is a contracted form but no Sora could mention the word of which this might be a contracted form. Since it is used irrespective of sex as in *Uyung-bōj-an*, and the principal word of which this could be a contracted form cannot be determined, I am led to infer that this is probably a variant of *bong(-an)*, contraction of *bongan* (cf. *bongā*, deity in almost all the languages of the Kol-Munda group).

The deities and spirits that can be mentioned under this order are :—

Bābū-Sum:[3] (from the Oriyas) a favourable deity of recent origin.
Badōng-Sum (vide under Badōnganji)
Balū-Sum (a hill deity)
Banumbā-Sum (ant-hill deity)
Barū-Sum (a hill deity, *vide* under Badōnganji)

1. The nominal suffix is only *-n* after a vowel and *-an* after a consonant
2. When *-boj* is used without the nominal suffix *-an*, it is pronounced as *-boi*.
3. -an, the nominal suffix is left out for the sake of economy of space.

Birādi-Sum (a caravan deity)
Bomēr-Sum (a market spirit)
Dakō-Sung-boi (a benevolent deity that remains in the house)
(A)-Danunki-Sum (a benevolent deity taking care of children)
Darammā-boi (vide under Sora notion of a supreme deity)
Dārī-Sum (same as Darammā-Sum)
Eldā-boi (the Sora elf, definitely known to be a woman)
Erdānā-Sum (a malignant deity causing wounds and known only in same parts of the Sora country)
Gad-āl-Sum (=cut thatch deity)
Gādēl-Sum, Gādē-jāng (=creator, vide under Sora notion of a supreme deity)
Gal-bēr-Sum, Gal-bēd-Sum — same as Jaliā-Sum
Gananroi-al-Sum (=deity of the eaves of the thatched house)
Garannā-Sum, Garnādā-Sum — the threshold deity.
Idāi-Sum (Oriya origin *lit.* picture deity known only to the Soras of Jalarsing)
Idang-Sum (=cut fuel deity)
Ijñūdā-Sum (=steam deity)
(A)-Jakki-Sum (=a very malevolent deity)
Jambū-mad-Sum (of recent origin, causing sore eyes)
Jammā-Sum (Skt. Yama, of foreign origin)
Jammōl-Sum (=Seedling spirit)
Jattarā-Sum (Skt. Yātra, of foreign origin)
(A)-Jatung-Sum (a deity of foreign origin known only to the (Sōras of Jhalarsing)
Jodā-bā-Sum (=hill stream deity)
Kanni-Sum (a very malevolent deity causing epilepsy)
Kansid-Sum (a hill deity, believed to have come from Udayagiri to Serung and other western parts of the Sora country)
Kanti-ār-Sum (=hedge-stone-deity)
Karud-Sum (=delivery deity)
Kimeng-Sum (same as Jammōl-sum)
Kinā-Sum (=tiger deity, vide under Kittungs)
Kinā-lō-Sum (same as Rankā-lō-Sum)
Kintsin-yung (a hill deity)
Kittung-Sum (a deity of Kittungs)
Kudā-Sum (the hearth deity)
Labō-Sum (=the goddess of earth)
Lambū-Sum (the main harvest deity)
Lankā-Sum (lit. above, same as Uyungan, the Sun god)
Lō-bur-Sum (lit. protect-hill-deity)
Lurnī-Sum (same Jallia-Sum)

Mādā-Sum (=loft deity)

Mādī-Sum (a hill deity; *lit.* one measure deity; of Jhalarsing; the reference is to a hill which is shaped like one measure vessel.)

Mid-diā-Sum (same as above; *mid-dia-bur* is the Sora word, changed into Deogiri by the Hindus, the hill to the north of Parlakimedi).

Manduā-Sum (a deity to be worshipped by the village at the shed built for the purpose)

Mangdārā-Sum (lit. Tuesday deity; of recent foreign origin)

Manni-Sum (a hill deity; vide under Mannīnji)

Mardi-Sum (Tel. Mariḍi=cholera of recent origin)

Mordi-Sum (Oriya, moho-āde=near the mahwa tree)

Orub-Sum (= the setting deity, the deity of the evening)

Rankā-lō-Sum (same as kinā-lō-sum=waste land deity)

Ratud / Ratūna / Ratur -Sum (a malevolent deity causing pain in the neck)

Rāud-Sum (=catalepsy-deity)

Rugā-boi (=Small-pox deity)

Rūleng-Sum (a malevolent deity)

Sardā-sum / Sardāyā-Sum (a deity worshipped by a class of Soras, known as Sardā-sōr)

Sattīrā-Sum (a deity worshipped in Kolakotta for good crops, when the paddy is sprouting)

Sutār-kad-Sum / Sutār-kan-Sum (a deity causing tuberculosis)

Tabardā-Sum (=banyan tree-deity)

Tadeng-dang-Sum (=piled pots-deity)

Tadi-dang-Sum (=small cup-shaped-pot-deity)

Tambā-Snm (=forenoon deity)

Tangōl-bōb-Sum (*lit.* press-leaf-head-deity; a deity supposed to be seated on the top of a bundle of pressed leaves, stored in the house)

Tang-gōr-bā-Sum (=wayside deity)

Tonai-Sum (=Sorcery-deity)

Tuttum-Sum (=blood sucker deity)

Ujñūdā-Sum (same as Ijñūdā-sum)

Ural-bā-Sum (an evil spirit)

Uyung-bāj-an (the Sun)

(2) *Bonādanji.* The Soras include *Donādanji* in the list but none of them could mention at least one deity or spirit which definitely belongs to this order. I have nevertheless regarded it as an important order because *Bonād* is frequently added to *Sonum* and to

Rēgam (=medicine) to form the tag words,[1] *Sōnum Bōnād*, *Rēgam-Bōnād*. Though less frequently and not all over the Sora Country it is also added to *Jñōnād* (vide below order 3) to form the tag word *Jñonad-Bōnād*.

(3) *Jñōnādanji*. This seems to be an order of spirits to which belong *Gusada-jñōd*,[2] *Kusallī-jñōd* and *Panosi-jñōd*[3]. The first of these is worshipped every time an *adur* is celebrated. The second is named after *Kusallī* which means a vegetable, *Luffa aēgyptica*; because it causes anæmia as a result of which the body of the afflicted person assumes the shape of the vegetable. The Sora word for anæmia is again *Kasalli* which comes from the name of the spirit. The third is a benovelent spirit. It requires no special worship or offerings.

(4) *Manninji* and (5) *Sunninji* are mentioned together as hill spirits. There are innumerable *Manninji* and *Sunninji* all over the Sora country, always residing on the hills. The Soras think of them first at every ceremony, rite or festival. In the invocations of the spirits and deities with which they start any religious function, they generally begin with these two names. No special or exclusive worship is marked out for them. They are supposed to be generally benevolent. The Sora language has a word, *Mānnē*,[4] which means to be docile, obedient or respectful. There is a deity by the name of *Mānnē-Sum* mentioned under *Sōnumanji*. It is also believed to be on the hills. It plays an important part at the time of seances. The person who falls into a trance and communicates to the consultants the message of the spirits and ghosts is helped by *Mānnē-Sum*. This is a deity which should, therefore, be worshipped by every person who desires to communicate with deities and spirits. He succeeds in his trade when he gains control over this deity.

(6) *Badōnganji* (or the simpler form Bonganji) also belong to the hills. When asked to explain the difference between this order and the previous two orders, one Sora priest said that there would generally reside on very high hills. The word '*badongan*' seems to be an archaic word meaning a high hill or mountain. It occurs in some old songs along with some other archaic expressions. It is still used by the Soras of some of the inner most parts of the Sora country, particularly in some compounds like *a-sambidi-bongan*[5] (=the lower part of a high hill). *Bonga* is an interesting word in

1. These tag words are like Lurly-burly. higgledy-piggledy.
2. Jñō is the contracted form of Jñōnād.
3. *Panosi* comes from *Posi* = to protect. cf. skt pōsh.
4. cf. *mannana* (=respect), *manninchu* (=show regard, excuse) in Telugu.
5. *bongan* is the contracted form of *badongan*.

the languages of the Kol-Munda Group. The Santalis, Mundaris and other kindred tribes in Chota Nagpur call their deities '*bongas*' and '*Sing-bonga*'[1] the Sun god stands at the head of their pantheon. The Soras also have *Sing-bong* (=the Sun god).

The Sora word for hill is *buru-n* and its contracted word is *bur*. It is also used to mean "*forest on the hill sides*" *cf.* Santali, Mundari, Birhor and Ho—*buru*, *bir* =forest, jungle, also hill; Bahnar, Khmer, Stieng—*bri*, *mberi*; Magyar—*birke*, *berek*. The word used by the Gutobs (Gadabas), a kindred tribe of the southern group near the Sora country, is *birong* = hill, mountain.

It is very interesting to note that *birong* of the Gutobs supplies the connecting link between the two groups (1) *burun*, *buru*, *bur*, *bir* and (2) *badong*, *bonga*, *bong*. While the words of the first group are used to mean hill etc., the words of the second group are used to mean 'deity.' But the Soras, who have *Sing-bong* (=the Sun god) and *badong-an-ji* as an order of deities, also use the word *badon-an* and its contracted form *bong-an* in the sense of 'a high hill.' Let us see if *buru-n* is any where used to mean a deity. Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy says (*Vide* The Mundas and Their Country, p. 469, foot note) "The original signification of the word '*Buru*' was 'God' and in that sense, the name would apply to *Sing Bonga* (who was perhaps the original *Marang*[2] *Buru* or the great God). But that sense of the word is now obsolete. And the name *Buru Bonga* is applied to a spirit "who resides in the hills."

The Kols use *buru* in the sense of god as well as hill as in *Marang Buru* also worshipped by them. (*Vide* Castes and Tribes—Central Provinces, KOL. para 12). "Next to him (*Sing-Bonga*) comes *Marang Buru*, the mountain god who resides on the summit of the most prominent hill in the neighbourhood. Animals are sacrificed to him here and the heads left and appropriated by the priest. He controls the rainfall and is appealed to in time of drought and when epidemic sickness is abroad." It should be noted that *marang* means 'great' as in the Mundari, Birhor and other languages of the group, and it is *buru* that indicates that the god is a mountain god. Since the original sense of the word *buru* namely god has become obsolete, the Mundaris add *bonga* to *Buru* and *Marang buru* and call them *Buru-bonga* and *Marang buru bonga*.

Birong of the Gutobs and *Badong* of the Soras are identical words since '*r*' and '*d*' are interchangeable in pronunciation as in the dialects of many other languages. *Buru* or *Bur* or *Bir* of Birong

1 The word for Sun is Sĩjũ in Santali, and Gutob; *Singi* in Mundari and Remo; *ka sh'ngai* in Khasi.

2. *Marang* is also a Sora word meaning "to grow, prosper, and increase."

was originally used to mean 'deity' and is now used to mean 'hill.' *Bong* and *Bonga* (as in the case of the Sora language) were originally used widely and are still used rarely to mean hill; they are now widely used to mean deity.

From this it may be inferred that there was a time when the ancestors of the Kol-Mundas used the same word for hill and god, and subsequently the differenciation in thought led to the differenciation in the derivatives of the word.

The explanation given above accounts for the inclusion of *Badonganji* in the orders or classes of Sora deities and spirits.

Besides the general class of *Badonganji*, there are (*Vide* List under *Sonumanji*), *Badong Sum* and *Baru Sum* but no Sora could tell me of any special worship or importance either in the case of these two deities or in the case of the general order of *Badonganji* except that they are enumerated along with the other orders or classes in their invocations and chantings.

(7) *Kittunganji* constitute a class of deified heroes or demi-gods in human form and some of them belong to the Hindu Puranas. The number of the *Kittungs* is variously given as seven, nine and eleven.

The names of the eleven *Kittungs* are (1) *Argattā* (2) *Bimmā* (3) *Garsāḍlā*, (4) *Jagantā*, (5) *Jode-pullā*, or *Jode-bullā*, (6) *Muttā*, (7) *Peda* or *Pedra-mad-tung*, (8) *Rammā*, (9) *Rung-tung*, (10) *Tetē* and (11) *Tumannā*. *Argattā* is considered to be the brother-in-law of the remaining ten *Kittungs*. Some of the Soras particularly those that have come into contact with the people of the plains identify *Argattā* with Krishna; *Bimmā* with Bhima of the Pāṇḍavas and *Rammā* with Rama, son of Daśaratha.

To the eleven *kittungs* may be added *Sūdī-birādi* and *Sittā-bōjan*, both regarded as sisters of the ten *Kittungs* mentioned above. How *Rammā* and *Bimmā* could be brothers and how *Rammā* and *Sittā bōjan* could be brother and sister no Sora could explain. Among the traditional accounts and the stories of the Sora Folklore, there are references to the visit of Rama and Sita to their country and of Sabari who offered fruit to and was honoured by Rāma. The *Sittā bojan* spoken of as the sister of the *Kittungs* is probably different from Sita. *Sittā-bōjan* is frequently coupled with *Sīrī-bōjan* (the goddess of wealth). The Soras have a story which says that *Sittā-bōjan* was forced to marry a tiger and had by him seven cubs and that her brothers disliked the union and killed six cubs. The one that survived was lame by one leg and it was called *kunṭī-kidan-an*.[1]

1. *Kunṭi* is a Telugu word meaning lame, borrowed by the Soras, *kidan* is the contracted form of *kinan* = tiger.

Sacrifices are offered to this *kunṭi-kid-an* once a year after the harvest of the main crop and the ceremony is known as *kinā-pur* (=worship of the tiger), *Kinā-Sum* is mentioned among the Sonums (*Vide* List).

A few other disconnected stories and traditional accounts about the *Kittungs* have come down to the present day and are known only to a few persons particularly to the *Kudāns*, the priests. These stories and accounts seem to be the surviving relics of a mythology which the stories had developed in the past. *Lingi-n* is mentioned as the maternal uncle of the ten *Kittungs* mentioned above.

The general belief among the Soras all over the present Sora country is that the *Kittungs* came from *Oḍisā-Mainḍūra*. *Oḍisā* is Orissa and *Mainḍūra* is probably Mahendra hill near Mandasa in Ganjam District. The *kittungs*, as the Soras tell us, lived in the Sora country for a long time and went away to the *Basēng-dēsa*.[1] (=Salt country), by which they mean the country towards the sea. They get the salt they require from this country and as it lies to their south, the Sora word for south is *basengan-a-Seng* (=salt side).[2]

From the accounts of the *Kittungs*, we gather that they were masters and lords of the Sora country during the time they stayed there and even the *Sonums* were rendering service to them. They left the country not on account of any ill-feeling or quarrel but of their own free will, and when they left it, the *Sonums* escorted them, carried their luggage on the way, and returned to the Sora country after the *Kittungs* reached the seacoast.

The memory of the *Kittungs* is preserved in every Sora house. They find a place in the paintings on the walls. Since they are demi-gods in human shape, they are represented as men.

The Soras say that the *Kittungs* were cannibals and point to a rocky bed of a brook near Gumma[3] which they call *Onol-tāl-an* (=mortar-bed) and say that it was the mortar in which the *Kittungs* used to pound human bones. They say that the *Kittungs* also ate beef and point to a hill near Gyba,[4] known as *Jum-tang-bur* (=eat-cattle-hill) and tell us that it was the hill where the *Kittungs* lived for some time and ate beef. Whenever the Soras experience any severe calamity and learn from divination that it is due to the wrath of the *Kittungs*, a cow or a bull is sacrificed to propitiate them. This seems to be the only occasion when a cow or bull is sacrificed for an offering. There is another high hill at a distance of about

1. *dēsa* is a borrowed word.
2. The sea is really to the south east of the Sora country.
3. Gumma is a village on the hills, 12 miles north of Parlakimedi.
4. Gyba is a village 16 miles n. w. of Parlakimedi

eight miles north of Parlakimedi, called *Mid-dia-bur*[1] which is also supposed to be the abode of the *Kittungs*. There are at the foot of this hill, some worn out cylindrical blocks of rough stone of about three to four feet in height. They are believed to be the stones into which the deities attached to the *Kittungs* were transformed after the *Kittungs* left the place. The Soras believe that whenever these deities feel that they are neglected, these blocks of stone assume an inclined position to signify their wrath. The Soras then offer milk[2] and liquor to appease their wrath and restore their erect position. The offering of milk is as unique as the sacrifice of a cow or a bull because the use of milk or beef is tabooed except on these occasions.

The Soras point to a heap of pillar like stones at *Tarum-Sun* (=heap of pillars) near Gumma and say that in olden days a number of wooden posts were one night brought by the *Kittungs* who wanted to build a big house there and the wooden posts were transformed into stones at cock crow. The *Kittungs* went away leaving the stones behind them. There is, however, no religious importance attached to them.

Between Gumma and Serung, there is an extensive rocky bed which from a distance looks like a cultivated land. The place is called *Ordum-dn* (ploughed). This is supposed to be a field cultivated by the *Kittungs* during their stay there and to have become rocky after they left the Sora country. Near Sar-Sāng, a village in Gumma *muṭhā*, there is a stone presenting the appearance of a drum and it is called *Kadib-ar* (=drum stone). It is believed to be a big drum used by the *Kittungs*. Near the same village, there are small yellow [coloured] stones scattered over a large area and they are believed to [be t]urmeric pieces used by the *Kittungs*. Whatever had been used [b]y the *Kittungs* was transformed into stone after they left the Sora country. Such ætiological myths have been very popular all over the Sora country.

Of *Bimmā* and *Rammā*, the former is supposed to be the elder and progenitor of the Soras and the latter, the younger and progenitor of the men of the plains. Consequently the Soras think that they are superior to the men of the plains. The Soras, particularly the orthodox priests do not take food from the hands of the men of the plains—not even from the hands of the Brahmans.

Though *Kittungs* played an important part in the religious history of the Soras, none of the eleven *Kittungs* mentioned above

1. The modern name Devagiri comes from the Sora word *dia-bur* (lit. waist-hill); *mid* = one.

2. Milk is never offered to any of the Sora deities because the use of milk is tabooed and no Sora drinks it.

is particularly worshipped. But they have among the *Sonums*. *Kittung-Sum* also and have provided for it a definite course of worship as in the case of many other *Sonums*. No Sora could tell me which of the *Kittungs* enumerated above was meant by this *Kittung-Sum*. In the opinion of a Sora priest of Serung—an old man, Limpo by name, the Soras included in their pantheon *Kittung-Sum*, as a spirit representing the class of *Kittungs*. Some Soras have included under *Kittungs*, *Kambū-tung* (=the bear god), *Jambū-mad-tung* (=rose-apple-eye-god).

The word *Kittung* has an interesting and noteworthy importance. While *bonga* connected with the order of *Badonganji* is the word for god in Santali, Mundari and other languages of the northern group, *Kitung* and *Kitu-ōn* connected with the order of *Kittunganji* are the words for god in the southern group—*Kitung* in Pareng and Remo and *Kitu-ōn* (=god's son) in Gutob.

(8) *Daiyun-ji*[1] constitute a class of superhuman beings. The following *daiyus* are mentioned :—

A-dōng-an-daiyu[2] (=Body-d.) i. e. daiyu with a body.
A-Jadang-daiyu (= mature-d.)
Kaṅdedēng-daiyur (=noisy-d.)
Pattikā-daiyu[3] (=a kind of tree-d.)
Ranā-daiyu (= golden-d.)
Sar(on)-daiyu (=corn-d.)
Sudāng-ar-daiyu (=big stone-d.)

From the literal meanings of the words, it may be inferred that each *daiyu* has a characteristic feature about it. But no definite information could be had about any of them nor about the class in general. The *Daiyunji* are included in the list of deities and spirits at the time of invocation.

(9) *Rājān-ji* (from Skt. *rājā* = king). This class includes the names of the kings who were deified by the Soras—*Darammā-rājā* *Gulusū-r.*, *Gurbādā-r.*, *Indūrā-r.*, *Pattikā-r.*, *Sindīm-a-r.*, *Sōdanga-r.*

The first is apparently from Skt. *Dharma* or *Dharma-raja* of the Aryan mythology of India. This deity will be described later on, under Sora belief in a Supreme Deity.

No Sora could give me any definite information about any of the other *rājānji* ; nor is there any worship provided for them. *Pattikā-r.* is the same as *Pattika-daiyu*. Along with *Gurbādā-r.* is also mentioned *Gurbādī-boī*. Both seem to be the king and queen

1. *cf.* Telugu—*dayyam* which means god in classical Telugu and ghost in modern Telugu.
2. *daiyu* has no contracted form.
3. The name of a tree not identified. It is called *Anemu* tree in Telugu.

whatever be their domain. *Gurbādā* is another form of *Gurbārā* (Skt. *Guru vā(sa)ra*, Thursday). Persons, born on Thursday are named after the name of the day. But nothing more could be said of the deity. *Indūrā-r.* may be either the Raja of Indore or Indra. *Sōdanga-r.* is believed to be Chodanga (Choda ganga) Deo, a king of the Kalinga Desa belonging to the Ganga race. *Sōdanga* is wórshipped in some localities; it is propitiated in cases of wounds and illness.

(10) *Patarānji* (from Skt. *pātra*) Patrōs had authority over provinces in Ancient and Medieval Hindu polity in the Oriya country and some of them who had control over the Soras might have been deified on account of their importance or special merit. *Bennu-p.* is the only deity of this class that could be mentioned to me. No worship is definitely marked out for even this deity.

(11) *Kuāran-ji* I could have no information about this order.

(12) *Ad-angan-ji* Ad-ang-an in Sora means kite or vulture. Some Soras say that *Garuda* is intended to be included on this order of deities. Some others say that spirits that hover in the sky are meant by this name. No special name is given of any deity that belongs to this class.

(13) *Mallānji* (skt. *malla* = athlete, wrestler). *Ganga-malla* and *Sur-malla* are the two deities mentioned. *Ganga-malla* is variously interpreted. Some say that he is the messenger of *Jamma-Sum* (the god of death) and some others say that he was a servant of the *Kittungs*. *Sur-malla* (skt. *Sura* = hero) is the name of a hero but no body knows who he was. No worship is marked out for any of these two *Mallanji*.

(14) *Bullunji*[1] *Bullu* is also the name of a deity of this class. It is supposed to be the cause of headache. To propitiate this deity, fowls and goats are sacrificed and liquor and cloth are offered. *Gayara-bullu* is a female deity. She is believed to prevent pregnant women being safely delivered if she is not propitiated in the offerings of goats, fowls, rice and liquor. She does not require pigs or cloth.

(15) *Jalbānji* and (16) *Bulkānji* are always chanted together in invocations. *Surjalba* is the only name mentioned; but no definit information could be had, either regarding this deity or the two orders of deities.

(17) *Radōbunji* and (18) *Raganji* are always chanted together in invocations. No particulars could be had about any of these tw orders.

1. The origin is doubtful.

(19) *Jojōnji* and (20) *Yoyōnji* are the ancestral spirits, the former means grand fathers and the latter grand mothers.

These two orders are mentioned together generally after all the other orders are mentioned in the invocations.

(21) *Kulbanji* human souls, set free after the death of the body do not really deserve to be called spirits, nor can they ever be deities until and unless the *guār* is performed. They are, however, mentioned here because they are on their way to become ancestral spirits—either *jojonji* or *yoyonji* according to the sex to which they belonged during their life time on earth. The firm belief of the Soras is that the souls of the deceased persons leave the body, remain as *kulbas* till the *guār* is over and as a result of the *guār* enter the world of the ancestral spirits. They remain there for ever and respond to the call of their kinsmen whenever they are invoked. It is believed that as long as the souls of the deceased remain as *kulbas* they hover about in the vicinity of the house where their bodies perished, rest on the branches of the trees and eagerly look forward to the day of the *guār*. They can see and hear; they have hunger and thirst but they can neither be seen nor heard. They appease their hunger by eating whatever is thrown out by their kinsmen in the house and allay their thirst by drinking the water in the open space. They have a sense of discrimination; they do not touch any food or water in the house. If the *guār* is delayed they appear to their kinsmen in their dreams; and say "It is two years since our human bodies perished and how long do you keep us as *kulbas*?" The Soras realise that *guār* should be performed as early as possible after their kinsmen left their bodies but since *guār* is a very expensive ceremony, they generally put it off, for about two years, so that all the bereaved families in the village may combine and perform the *guār* together. Many items of expenditure are thereby minimised.

The Soras are very particular to see that *guār* is performed sooner or later in the case of any Sora that is dead. There may be, though very rarely, a case of a person who dies leaving behind no kinsmen to perform his or her funeral rites and the ultimate *guār*. The Soras of the village, in which such a death occurs, realise that it is their duty to get the rites performed somehow or other. They find some one who may have some sort of relationship near or distant, contribute to the expenses and get everything done in the usual manner. There may be, still, cases of souls that have had no funeral rites. Such souls remain as *kulbas* hovering about in the vicinity of the village to which their bodies belonged. The tradition about such *kulbas* is that they catch hold of children when they are alone in the forest or in the open space on the outskirts of the

village. When such children die on the spot, the general belief among the Soras is that they are "swallowed" by the *kulbas*. The Sora word 'mō' which literally means "swallow" is used. By using this word, the Soras do not really mean to say that the body is swallowed. The idea is that the essence of life is swallowed.

Some Sora *kudāns* who have a speculative mind, in the field of Metaphysics, think that some of the *sonums* particularly the evil spirits must have been the *kulbās* of the bygone ages.

SORA NOTION OF A SUPREME DEITY.

Mr. Fawcett writes:[1] "There is no idea of a supreme and beneficient Creator of all things. Here is a story which was told to me in a Saora village close to, in fact part of one of the Oriya forts. 'Derema,' a deity who lives on Deodonger (the highest hill in the neighbourhood, 4,535 ft.) long ago brought a man and woman from a village called "Peraithung"[2] promising them land, good crops, food, and everything and all the Saoras are descended from this pair. In the village where I heard this story, Derema is said to be always beneficient. This story is probably of Uriya or Pano origin and is not current elsewhere; about Kolakotta and indeed in the other parts where the Saoras have been free from Hindu influence, nothing is known of a beneficient deity. They have no notion of any deity of whom they will ask anything in expectation of their request being answered through love."

Mr. Fawcett failed to recognise that Derema (more correctly Daramma) mentioned above is the same as Dharma (Daramma, as pronounced by the Soras) which he mentioned on page 244 in his article. Under the head of "Dharma Boja, Lankan, Ayungang—The Sun," he writes, "The first name is, I think of Uriya Origin and the last the real Saora name. There is an idea in the Kollakotta country, that it causes all births. This deity is not altogether beneficient and causes sickness and may be driven away by sacrifices like the meanest spirit. In some villages, this deity is almost the only one known......In some parts, the Sun is not a deity."

Mr. Fawcett is not well informed on the subject. *Dharma-bōja* ought to be *Darammā-bōj* or *Darammā-bo-an* (with -an, the personal suffix). Ayungang ought to be Uyung-an (or a -yun, .n, the first syllable being unaccented). It is also known as *Uyung-bōj-an*. Though the Sun is regarded by the Soras as male and as the father

1. Vide his article on the "Saoras" (Sōrās) published in Vol. 1. No. 4 of the *Journal of the Antheropological Society of Bombay*, 1888, page 248.

2. In the foot note, here, Mr. Fawcett writes "I never found any one who pretended to have an idea of the situation of this place."

of the Stars while the Moon is their mother (*Vide* SORA FOLKLORE, Appendix), *-bōjan* is added; either because *-bōj* here is not the feminine suffix but a variant of *bonga* used in all the other languages of the Kol-Munda group in the sense of deity or because the Sora deities are generally regarded as female and the feminine suffix *-bojan* is indiscriminately added to the names of the deities. *Lankān* means 'above' and as synonymous with *Daramman* and *Uyungan* refers to the position of the Sun in the sky. Mr. Fawcett is not correct in saying "in some villages, this deity (i. e. the Sun) is almost the only one known" and "in some parts, the Sun is not a deity." I know of no village in the Sora country where the Sun is almost the only deity known or where the Sun is not recognised as a deity. As it is known by different names and as each locality of the Sora country is generally acquainted with only one of these names, the information which Mr. Fawcett had on this point was probably confusing to him. Neither the name of *Daramma* nor the story connected with this deity is necessarily of the Oriya or Pano origin. The Bhuiyas of the Kol-Munda family of the Central Provinces, probably the progenitors of the Buyyas among the Soras, venerate the Sun as *Dharam Deota.*[1] The Oraons worship a supreme god who is known as Dharmes; him they invoke in their great difficulties when recourse to the village priests and magicians has proved useless. Then they turn to Dharmes and say 'Now we have tried everything but we have still you who can help us.' They sacrifice to him a white cock."[2]

Sing-Bonga of the Munda pantheon is the same as the Sun. "At the head of the Munda pantheon, Sir H. Risley states, stands *Sing-Bonga* or the Sun, a beneficient but ineffective deity who concerns himself but little with human affairs. But he may be invoked to avert sickness or calamity and to this end sacrifices of white goats or white cocks are offered to him."[3]

"The Hos (of the Kol-Munda family) worship *Sing-Bonga* who appears to be their supreme deity and they identify him with the Sun. He is worshipped on all important occasions and the Dussera day in the month of As'vin (September – October) is specially associated with the worship of *Sing Bonga* when sweets and vermilion are offered and a cock is sacrificed—its neck being torn asunder. He is also worshipped on the day on which the Hos first partake of the new rice. On the day when the date of a marriage is fixed, *Sing Bonga* is worshipped with *hāṛiya* and vermilion—the sacrifice of

1. *Vide* Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces—The Bhuiya—para 11.
2. " " " Oraon—para 15.
3. " Central Provinces—Castes and Tribes—Kol—para 12.

the cock being prohibited on this occasion. In cases of serious illness, offerings are made to him."[1]

"The Kheria's ideas about the Sun is that he is Dharma and he is a male."[2] Among the Santals there is *Sing-Bonga* (=the Sun) also known as *Dharma.*

It may be said generally that all the Kol-Munda peoples have the Sun god, known by *Sing-Bonga* or a variant of *Dharma.*

The Soras also make mention of *Sing-Bong* as one of their deities and he is generally regarded as a hill deity because *badongan* of which *bong-an* is a contracted form, means a hill and *Badonganji* constitute an order of deities or Spirits connected with the hills. But there are many Soras who, when examined, definitely say that he is the same as the Sun god. The use of *Sing-bong* in the sense of Sun god is not now very popular because all the Soras use *Uyungan* to mean the Sun god. The Sun god is also known by several other names—*Darammā, Lankā, Gādēl* or *Gādēl(l)-jāng* with *-Sum-* or *-boj-* and *-an* (nominal suffix) added to the name. If one name is current in one part of the Sora Country, another is current in another part. In Jhalarsing (the eastern part of the Sora country) the deity is known as '*A daramma-sum*' In the western parts, *Daramma-bojan*, *Uyungan* are the names used at the time of worship. In the central parts the name, *Gādēl-sum* or *Gādē-jāng* is very popular.

Whatever be the name used in the locality and whatever be the locality in which the deity is worshipped, the worshippers know that it is the Sun god that is worshipped and the details of worship are almost the same. Variations in names and minor differences in the details of worship can easily be explained.

Uyungan is directly the name of the Sun. *Lankan* literally meaning 'up', 'above', 'high' refers to the position of the Sun with reference to earth. When asked to locate the abode of the deity—by whatever name it may be known, the Soras readily say "*ruāngan*" (=sky).

Darammo is apparently from Skt. *Dharma.* It must have been borrowed and applied to the Sun god long ago when all the Kol-Munda tribes were living together so that even after they were scattered they could continue the name for the deity. The currency of the name with its implications may be due to diffusion. Even if this view is accepted it must be said that the diffusion took place long ago, for, otherwise we cannot account for its wide currency

1. *Vide* University of Calcutta— Anthropological papers—The Hos of Saraikella; Part 1, page 58.
2. *Vide* Census of India 1931, Part III.—B. p. 111.

among all the Kol-Munda tribes. *Daramma* is ordinarily used in the Sora language to mean kindness, pity, charity as well as justice and *Daramma-Sum* is believed to be endowed with these qualities.

Daramma-raja is mentioned under the order of the *Rajānji*. The ordinary Sora does not know anything about either *Dharma-raja* (=Yama) the Hindu god of Death or *Dharma-raja*, Yama's son and the eldest of the Pāṇḍus. Some of the Sora priests that have come into close contact with the Hindus of the plains are now disposed to identify him with the Pāṇḍu king rather than with the god of Death. In recent years the Soras included under Sonums, *Jammā-Sum* (=the god of Death) which is apparently from the Hindu *Yama* through the Oriyas who pronounce like all North Indians *Y* as *J*. Whatever be the conception of *Daramma-rāja*, *Darammā* (-bōj or sum) refers to the Sun-god because, it is said to be the same as *Lankan* and *Uyungan* and its abode is said to be *ruāngan* (=the sky).

The name, *Gādēl-Sum* or *Gādē-jāngan* requires some explanation. No Sora could explain the derivation of the words in the compound, *Gādē-jāngan* though some priests could tell me that it meant the Creator. The Sora word *gadēl* means 'to come about,' 'to evolve' and its causative form is *gaddēl* which is frequently used to mean 'to create'. *Gaddēl* becomes *gādēl* with the shortening of the consonantal sound *d* and the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel sound *a*. The final consonantal sound is feebly heard or not heard at all in many Sora words, and that accounts for the dropping of *l* in *Gādē-jāng*. The word *jangan* is an old Kol-Munda word used not only in Sora but also in Santali, Mundari, Birhor and all other languages of the Kol-Munda group. It is used in many senses including seed, kernel, stone of fruit, bone, wood, fibres, stalk etc. *Jāngādān* is an old Sora word used in incantations to mean life. The word *jang* in the compound *Gādē-jāngan* may, therefore, be understood to mean life-giving seed or essence. Since *gādēl* itself conveys the idea of creating *jangan* may be superflous and that is probably the reason why some Soras call the deity *Gādēl-Sum* which means the Creator. Some Soras who desire to emphasise the source of life use *Gādē-jāng* in the sense of *Life-giving Creator*. That *Gādēl-Sum* or *Gādēl-jāng* refers only to the Sun may be inferred from the following data. Its abode is said to be *ruāngan*, the Sky; the nature of the worship is practically the same as for *Uyungan* or for *Daramma*. At the time of worship, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a drawing of the Sun on the wall near the place of worship. Those that worship the deity under the simpler name of *Gādēl-Sum* have an additional drawing of a Snake probably to represent the eclipse of the Sun which the Soras believe to be due to the periodical swallowing of the Sun by a

Snake. The eclipse of the Sun as well as of the Moon is explained by the Soras in the same way with reference to a story in their Folklore (*Vide* Appendix). The story is such that it does not deprive the Sun and the Moon of their superior position. It is a gift of the Sun granted to the Snake. "Make a show of swallowing us" said the Sun to the Snake "and the people on earth will make plenty of offerings to you". The Sun deity is supposed to cause all births. The principal idea that the Sun is the Creator is clearly suggested in the worship of *Uyung-boj-an*. The deity is worshipped in the house immediately before or after marriage at any time between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m.[1] Only women or both women and men together but not men alone should worship the deity. It is also believed by the Soras that this deity interferes with delivery either by delaying it or by making it difficult.

Whatever be the name of the deity, the animals to be sacrificed are a white goat, a white cock and a pig. It is very interesting to note that all the tribes of the Kol-Munda group sacrifice a white cock when they worship this deity whether it is called *Sing-bong* or *Dharmes*. The sacrifice of a white goat is made by some and not by all but the colour of the goat wherever this animal is sacrificed in the case of this deity must be white and not black.

The Sun god is generally considered to be superior to all other deities and to be capable of controlling them. I am told that in cases of long standing or chronic diseases, the Soras worship the Sun god and say "we have worshipped all other deities and spirits and tried all other means in vain. We now look up to you. You can control all diseases and those that cause them. Make this sick man well and happy".

From what is stated above, it is clear that the Soras have a conception of the Creator—a supreme deity but their conception which does not take them beyond the Sun falls short of the Christian or Muhammadan or Hindu theistic conception of the Omnipotent, Omnipresent, Omniscient and All powerful God. In recent years, the Soras have learnt to use *Māprūn* (Skt. *Mahāprabhu*) and *Paramēsaran* (Skt. *Paramēsvar*) from the Hindus of the plains and the Christian Missionaries. They have realised that these words have a wider connotation than *Gādē-jāng* or any other name that can denote no more than the ethical aspect of *dharma*, the life giving or creative element of nature and the commercial aspect of bestowing favour as a requital for the offerings received. The use of these foreign words is very significant. It shows that the Soras felt that there

1. Among the Hos, *Sing-Bonga* should be worshipped on the day on which the date of the marriage is fixed.

could be no word in their language to express this new conception. In the chapter relating to the Sora language, it will be shown that the Sora language is elastic enough to serve as a vehicle of new ideas and thoughts and that, therefore, the Soras would not ordinarily borrow words unless they felt the need for them.

On closer examination I have found that the Soras though they have learnt to use *Māprūn* and *Paramēsaran*, they have not yet acquired the idea of an All merciful and benevolent Supreme Being; because a sacrifice is *conditio sine qua non* for obtaining a favour from any deity or spirit and the general belief of the Soras is that all the deities or spirits have a natural disposition to be malignant; they are greedy and exacting and they are always of an irascible temperament; none of them takes notice of any ethical merit or sin on the part of man; each is interested in itself—it punishes those that offend or neglect it and favours those that propitiate it by sacrifices but the favour shown does not go beyond the removal of the evil caused by it.

ETHICAL MERIT AND SIN

The Soras consider one to be a *bangsā-mar* (=good man) who is ordinarily of good temper and who generally observes the customary formalities, ceremonials, rites and festivals. *Ukkā* is the Sora word used for custom and it may be used for what is normal. A person who fails to observe the *Ukkā* is considered to be a *rankā-mar* (=bad fellow). An act which is considered to be offensive to the deities is regarded as *ersi*—a worse infringement of good conduct than failing to observe the *Ukkā*. *Ersi* may be construed to denote the idea of Sin. The punishment for an act of *ersi* is meted out by the offended deity or spirit. Acts of violation of *Ukkā* are of different types. Some are inoffensive as alteration in the dress or ornamentation, the wearing of gold ornaments. The delinquents meet with admonition by the elders. Some are offensive to the society, as for example, marrying a girl of the same village. The prohibition is based on the constitution of the village in olden times—when an expanded family constituted the village. So long as this state of things prevailed all the boys and girls belonged to the same patrilineal descent and the prohibition was, therefore, reasonable. But in recent years. the constitution of the village has undergone many changes and new families from other villages have been living in almost every village of the Sora Country. So two families of one and the same village are now entering into matrimonial alliance where one of them is definitely known to have come from another village. Even such an alliance is regarded as an offence against the well established *ukkā* and a nominal expiatory fine is imposed

on the parties entering into an alliance. The marrying of one's own sister or a girl of the same patrilineal descent is such a flagrant violation of *ukkā* that it amounts to *ersi*. It is not only a social offence but also a religious one; it is against the wish of the ancestral spirits. Hence, the offender should pay a *danḍa*, a fine and sacrifice a buffalo or a goat to propitiate the ancestral spirits and the Sonums in general.

Falsehood, theft, adultery (other than incest), slaughter are no doubt offences but they are not regarded as *ersi* as they are not offences against the deities and spirits. Nor are they offences against society. They are offences against individuals in the Society and it is the look out of the injured members of the Society to get redress and the elders in the villages help the injured to get compensation from the offenders. The case of murder is, however, a social offence and the murderer has to pay according to the decision of the elders in the village a fine to the bereaved family and sacrifice an animal to propitiate the ancestral spirits and the *Sonums* in general and distribute the flesh of the sacrificed animal as well as liquor among all the families of the village.

Though cases of murder are very frequent among the Soras it must be said to their credit that they are generally truthful and cases of theft and adultery are very rare among them. In cases of murder, the murderer does not attempt to deny the act even when no evidence can be produced in a Court of law and his advocate advises him to deny it. "Why should I speak a lie? I have done it" he says. Regarding a charge of adultery, he would say "I would never do it. If I wanted her and she wanted me, I would take her away and pay a fine and would have her after marrying her. Why should I waste my seed upon a soil, the fruit of which I could never claim?"

In these respects, the Sora is unsophisticated and is more virtuous than most men of the socalled civilized nations.

THE ALL SPREADING DISTRIBUTION OF THE DEITIES AND SPIRITS.

According to the Sora conception, every part of the world is filled with one or the other of the several *Sōnums*. The sky (*ruāngan* is the abode of *Uyungan* (also known as *Daramma*, *Gādē(l)-jāng* and *Lankā)*. The moon (*Angāj-an*) is his wife and is known, when deified, by the borrowed name, *Sandrā-bōj-an* (Skt. *Chandra* =moon). Their children are the stars and planets (*tui-tuj-an*) of which the Venus (*Sunkra* from Skt. *Sukra*) has been raised to the status of a deity. *Ringe-boi* is the goddess of the wind; *Ganur-boi*, the goddess of rain. The forces and phenomena of nature are

regarded as the manifestations of the *Sonums*. *Ilim-bong-an* (rainbow) is a deity which indicates the break up of an epidemic disease.

Labō-Sum the goddess of earth and the physical earth is the abode of numerous deities and Spirits. *Badōnganji* is, as noticed above, an order of deities and Spirits belonging to the hills. *Baru-Sum* is a special deity pervading all the hills, with powers to foster or blight the crops raised there by *pōdu* or extensive cultivation. *Eldā-bōj-an* that is believed to carry away and devour young girls, to cause or prevent conception and abortion, is regarded as an old elf or demoness and is supposed to have her headquarters on the hillside and to wander in the neighbouring woods or forests. *Kansē-Sum* is a hill deity, believed to have come in recent times from Udayagiri on the north eastern outskirts of the Sora Country to Serung and other western parts. *Mannīn-ji* and *Sunnīn*-ji are, as noticed above, orders of hill deities residing in all the hills. *Janāng-lo-Sum* (Skt. *jangala* =jungle) is the deity of the woods and forests. Every ant-hill is the abode of the *Banum-bā-Sum* (lit. the deity at the ant-hill). *Kannī-boj-an*, a very malevolent and terrible deity that causes epilepsy is believed to have her permanent abode on the trees in the forests. *Tangōre-bā-Sum* (lit. roadside deity) should be propitiated by the roadside, on the outskirts of the village lest it might enter the village and devour its inhabitants. Even the hedges or boundary stone walls round the village are considered to be sacred as they are the abode of *Kanti-ār-Sum* (lit. hedge-stone-deity). Every house or shed is the abode of a *Dakō-sung-boi* (lit. stay-house-deity) and every important part of the house has a special deity, named after and residing in it, viz., *Kudā-boi* at the hearth, *Mādā-boi* on the loft, *Ganon-roi-al-Sum* (lit. caves of the thatched house-deity) at the caves and *Garnā-dā-Sum* at the threshold. The market place where the inhabitants of several villages meet is also the abode of a deity, known as *Bomēr-sum*. Mention is made of *Birādī-Sum* (Tel. *Bidaru* =caravan), a deity which is believed to accompany every group of caravans. No caravan has ever visited the Sora country within the memory of the present generation but some old men of about sixty years of age remember their fathers and grandfathers narrating to them interesting accounts of the caravans visiting their country from the plains.

The Soras believe that there are various water deities living in the seas, tanks, rivers and streams, though I have heard of only one name, *Jodābā-Sum* (lit. the stream-by-deity).

Jamā-boj-an (Skt. Yama, the god of death) is evidently from the Hindus of the plains. This deity is believed to live in *Kijnōrāi-desān* which stands for hell and which is located in the lower region of the world. Some Soras have no idea of the location of *Kijnōrāi-desān*

and they loosely say that it is the abode of all the deities who have no other fixed abode and of all the ancestral Spirits. Many Soras have no idea of hell or heaven. They think that all the ancestral Spirits live together in one and the same place and that they are generally happy and well disposed towards their descendants on earth, always responding to their invocations. The ancestral Spirits even when they are not invoked sometimes visit on their own accord the houses in which they once lived. In every Sora house, therefore, there is at least one *Sonum-dāng-an* (lit. deity-pot) hanging under the roof. It contains rice, a few chillies, onions or garlic, salt, a piece of ginger and a copper coin (a pice); it is covered lightly with a flat earthen lid. Another pot of the same description is noticed in some houses, set in a corner on three small stones. These two pots are be daubed with termeric paste on the outer surface in all the Kāpu-Sora villages and also in some houses of the interior Agency tracts the inhabitants of which are in contact with the Kāpu-Soras. These pots are sacred because they are meant for the use of the ancestral Spirits. The pot hanging under the roof contains the things set apart for them and since, according to the belief of the Soras, the Spirits do not actually eat them but take in the essence, they may be kept raw or uncooked. But if the ancestral Spirits wanted cooked food, the second pot could be used by them and this is merely symbolic. The firm belief of the Soras is that if the ancestral Spirits visited and took the essence from the things put in the pots, everything there becomes tasteless because the essence is taken away. I enquired if any Sora ever tasted those things and found them to be really tasteless and several Soras gave me affirmative replies in emphatic tones. They also referred to other similar instances and experiences at the seances. The person who acts as the medium for communication with the deities and Spirits falls into a trance and is possessed by the deity or Spirit invoked and in response to the enquiries made by the interested persons that attend the seance, the invoked deity or Spirit speaks through the mouth of the person that is possessed by it. I attended one seance at which the invoked Spirit wanted liquor and a small pot of liquor was held before the mouth of the person that was possessed by the Spirit and he just inhaled the odour for half a minute and felt satisfied. I was then told that that was the way in which the Spirits or deities would eat or drink the things offered to them. I asked one of the Soras there to taste the liquor that had been offered to the Spirit and he tasted it. "It is without any taste or odour" he said. I am sorry that I could not attempt to verify the statement by tasting it myself as I had never tasted liquor and had no idea of its taste or odour.

(To be continued)

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF ANDHRADEŚA.

I. ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA DYNASTY

Dr. MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH, Dacca University.

The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled over the Andhra country from about 300 A.D. to 450 A.D. with their capital at *Veṅgīpura*. This is modern Pedda-Vegi or Vegi, seven miles north of Ellore (Elūra of the grant) in the West Godavari District of the Madras Presidency. Yuang Cwang visited the kingdom of An-ta-lo i.e. Andhra whose capital was Ping-ki-lo i.e. Veṅgī. In the Telugu *Mahābhārata* of the 12th century, Rajahmundry has been called "*Nāyakaratnam*" of Veṅgī deśa. Three Kings of this Dynasty are known to us from two inscriptions:—Vijaya Devavarman, Caṇḍavarman and Vijaya Nandivarman. The inscription of Vijaya Devavarman is in Old Prakrit (vide *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX, p. 56 ff). It has been edited by Dr. E. Hultzsch. I reproduce the text below.

Oṁ

1. Sirī-Vijaya *Veṅgī purā*, Bhagavato
2. *Cittarathasāmi*-pādānu-
3. jjhātassa *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka*-pādabhattassa
4. parama-Māhessarassa *Sālaṅkāyanassa*
5. assamedhayājino
6. Mahārāja-sirī-Vijaya-*Deva-varmmassa*
7. vayaṇena Elūre muluḍa-pamukho
8. gāmo bhāṇitavvo. Etassa
9. Ba[bhura]-sagottassa *Gaṇasammassa*
10. sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-niyattaṇān[i]
11. vīsaṁ 20 gharaṭṭhānaṁ addhiya-manussāṇaṁ
12. duvaggāṇa ya gharaṭṭhānaṁ parihāra-rakkhaṇaṁ
13. samāṇattaṁ. Evaṁ savva-parihārehi parihari-
14. tavvo ya. Vijaya saṁvvaccharāṇi
15. terasa 10 3 Pauṣa-Kālapakkha-dasamī [10]
16. Ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svargge krīḍati bhūmidaḥ
17. Ācchettā c ānumantā ca tānyeva narake vaset.
18. Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā bahubhiś-cānupālitā
19. Yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadā phala[ṁ]

SANSKRIT TRANSLATION

1. Oṁ S'rī-Vijaya-*Veṅgīpurād* Bhagavatas' (Bhagavac)
2. *Citraratha-svāmi*-pādānu-
3. dhyātasya pitṛ-bhartṛ-pādabhaktasya *
4. parama-Māhes'varasya *S'ālaṅkāyanasya*
5. as'vamedhayājino
6. Mahārāja S'rī-*Vijaya-Deva-varmaṇo*
7. vacanena Elūre Muḷuḍa-pramukha-
8. grāmo bhaṇitavyah. Etasya
9. *Babhru*-sagotrasya *Gaṇa-śarmaṇah*
10. Sundara-prades'e bhūmi-nivartanāni
11. viṁs'ati 20 gṛhasthānam ārdhika-manuṣyānāṁ
12. dvārgāṇāñ ca gṛhasthānaṁ parihāra-rakṣaṇaṁ
13. samājñāptam. Evaṁ sarva-parihāraih parihar-
14. tavyas' ca. Vijaya-saṁvatsarāṇi
15. trayodas'a 10 3 Pauṣa-Kṛṣṇapakṣa-das'amī 10
16. Ṣaṣṭi varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarge krīḍati bhūmidah
17. Ākṣeptā c-ānumantā ca tānyeva narake vaset
18. 19. as in the original.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION (by E. Hultzsch).

(lines 1—7). Oṁ. From the prosperous and victorious Veṅgīpura. The villagers (lit. village) of Elūra headed by the *muḷuḍa*, must be addressed (*as follows*) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Devavarman, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the S'ālaṅkāyana, the fervent Māhesvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father (*and*) who meditates at the feet of the holy Citraratha svāmin :—

(Lines 8—13), " It has been ordered that to this Gaṇas'arman of the Ba[bhura] *gotra* (these have to be made over) twenty 20 *nivartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (*for himself, and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop and for (*his*) doorkeepers (*and*) that the immunities (*granted to him*) have to be protected (lit. the protection of the immunities from taxation, (Lines 13, 14). And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (Lines 14, 15). (*In*) the victorious year thirteen 13 (*of the reign*), (*on*) the

* Perhaps it has to be rendered as " Pitṛ-bhaṭṭāraka-......sya. " *Ed.*

tenth 10 *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa. (Lines 16—19 not translated by Hultzsch). The giver of land deports himself for sixty thousand years in heaven. He who confiscates or assents (to confiscation) shall dwell the same number of years in hell. Land has been given by many and has been continued in grant by many. He who for the time being becomes the master of the land, enjoys the fruit of it.

NOTES

1. Citrarathasvāmī — the name of an image. The site of the temple is still shown at Pedda-Vegi.
2. Māhes'vara — a worshipper of S'iva.
3. S'ālaṅkāyana — a descendant of S'alaṅku. Pāṇini's *Naḍādi-gaṇa* contains *S'alaṅku.*
4. Muluḍa — *muluḍa-pamukha-gāmo* corresponds to *mutyuda-sahitān grāmya(ā)n* of the Inscription of Vijaya-Nandi-varman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V, p. 176), where *mutyuda* may be correctly read as *muluḍa.* It is a Dravidian word, possibly old Telugu, apparently meaning the chief (*maṇḍala*) of the village. It may a *tadbhava* word from Sanskrit *maṇḍala.*
5. Niyattaṇa — Skt. *nivartana*, a measure of land. This word occurs in the Pallava and other grants.
6. Pauṣa — is a Sanskritism.
7. Ṣaṣṭiṁ — influenced by Prakrit. Pali saṭṭhim.
8. ācchettā — Prakritic form of Skt. *ākṣeptā.*
9. Bahubhir etc. This and the previous verse are known as *Vyāsa-vākya* (the word of Vyāsa) and are generally put at the end of grants. This verse also occurs in the Prakrit Inscription of Cārudevī (*Ep. Ind.* VIII, 143). In other Inscriptions this verse reads differently in the first hemistich :—
" bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sāgarādibhiḥ."
10. The Sanskrit Inscription of Vijaya-Nandi-varman (*Ind. Ant.*, V, 176) begins almostly exactly like this :—Svasti, Vijaya-Veṅgīpurād Bhagavac - Citrarathasvāmi - pādānuddhyā (dhyā) to Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ parama-bhāgavatas-S'ālaṅkāyano etc.

12. The date of the grant is about 350 A. D.

LANGUAGE

The language is more akin to Pali than Prakrit. It, however, differs from Pali but agrees with Prakrit in the following points :—

(a) *ṇ* has been used instead of *n* (as in Prakrit) in the following words–Vayaṇena (Pali: vacanena); bhāṇitavvo (Pali: bhaṇitabbo); nyattaṇāni (Pali: nivattanāni); manussāṇaṁ (Pali: manussānaṁ; duvaggāṇa (Pali: duvaggānaṁ); saṁvaccharāṇi (Pali saṁvaccharāni).

(b) *vv* has been used (as in Prakrit) in place of *bb* — bhāṇitavvo, pariharitavvo.

(c) Inter-vocalic single consonants have been elided (as in Prakit) — Vayaṇenaya (Pali: ca); addhiya (Pali: addhika).

A PASSAGE IN THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

V. LAKSHMINARAYANA, Research Scholar,
Andhra University.

The following passage is taken from lines 23 and 24, of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[1]

L. 23... .....*Daivaputra – Shāhi – Shāhānushāhi – S'aka – Muruṇḍaiṁ Saiṁhaḷakādibhiś-cha*

L. 24 .. .. ..*sarva-dvīpa - vāsibhir – ātmanivēdana – Kanyōpāyana-dāna – garutmadaṅka – svavishayabhukti - śāsana yāchan ādyupāya – sēvā – kṛita · bāhu – vīryya – prasara – dharaṇī – bandhasya* ....

Fleet translated it as follows: [2]

"........whose binding together of the (whole) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (his) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (giving) Garuḍa-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his) commands, etc. (rendered) by the Daivaputras, Shāhis, Shāhānushāhis, S'akas and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Siṁhala and all (other) dwellers in islands........"

Some portions of the passage have been wrongly translated and interpreted by Fleet. The translation of the passage has been revised by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.[3] But in interpreting the significance of the passage, Jayaswal also has gone too far. We propose to deal, in this paper, chiefly with the significance an meaning of '*ātmanivēdana – kanyōpāyanadāna – garutmadaṅka – svavishayabhukti – śāsana yāchana.*

Fleet translated *ātmanivēdana* as 'offering themselves as sacrifices'. Fleet's translation seems to be beside the point, though not entirely wrong. The word *ātmanivēdana* can be translated as offering or submitting themselves' (to Samudragupta). It means personal submission, in a word.[4] It may be taken in another sense also. The passage concerned, tells us of the ways in which the rulers like *Daivaputra-shāhi Shāhānushāhi* showed their homage to their lord, Samudragupta. It seems they used to come to the court of Samudragupta and report themselves to him that they were so and so, and that they came on such business as '*śāsana-yāchana*' etc. So *ātmanivēdana* may also mean this method of humbly

1. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, (C. I. I.) p. 18
2. *Ibid p. 14.*
3. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XVIII, 207-211.
4. *Ibid.* p. 208.

eporting themselves to Samudragupta. If this is the real meaning, he passage throws light on the procedure followed by subordinate allies of the Guptas, in expressing their homage. Personal submission or as the case may be, humbly reporting oneself to the kind notice of an overlord like Samudragupta, can be certainly taken as an act of homage, a means of service *ādyupāya-śēva* Thus this interpretation of *ātma-nivēdana* throws light on court ceremonials of the Gupta age.

If *ātmanivēdana* formed the first means of expressing homage to Samudragupta, *Kanyōpāyanadāna* formed the second. Jayaswal has interpreted '*ātmanivēdana – kanyōpāyanadāna – garutmadaṅka – svavishayabhukti – śasana – yāchana*' as follows : [1]

"The first form of submission was that of offering themselves (*ātmanivēdana*) and the second consisted of two things: presenting (*upāyana*) unmarried girls and giving of daughters in marriage (*kanyādāna*). The third was the request (*yāchana*) which consisted of two matters: asking for charters for the currency of the Garuḍa coinage within the jurisdiction of their own territories and an application to enjoy the governments of their own respective countries ['*garutmadaṅka - svavishayabhukti - śāsana - yāchana* : asking for charters (*śāsana-yāchana*) for the use of the Garuḍa coin (*garutmadanka-bhukti*) and for the government of their own territories (provinces or districts, (*svavishayabhukti*)."

'*Garutmadaṅka*' had been translated by Fleet as '(giving) Garuḍa-tokens'. But this does not seem to be correct.[2] As Jayaswal has said, the controlling word of the passage, '*Garutmadaṅka - svavishaya - bhukti - śāsana - yāchana*' is '*yāchana*' (begging). So it is not necessary to bring in (giving) and 'surrendering' into the translation. Fleet added the words 'giving' (in 'giving Garuḍa-tokens') and 'surrendering' (in 'surrendering the enjoyment of their territories'), as he had mainly in his mind, the word '*sēva*'. He thought that service (*sēvā*) to Samudragupta was done by the kings mentioned, by giving Garuḍa-tokens, and by surrendering their erritories to him. It will be further clear why Fleet brought in 'giving' and 'surrendering,' if we see that he translated '*śāsana - yachana*' as (soliciting his (Samudragupta's) commands'. But though it is right that '*śāsana*' means command also, there is another meaning which is more appropriate here. As Fleet took '*śāsana* to mean 'command'. he translated '*śāsana - yāchana*' by itself, as 'soliciting (his) commands'. But '*śāsana*' here means a charter,[1] and '*śāsana - yāchana*' means 'begging for charter'. If it is accepted that '*śāsana*' here appropriately means a charter, it is not correct

1. See his '*History of India*' 150—350 A. D., p. 145.
2. *J.B O.R.S.* Vol. XVIII, p. 208.

to translate '*śāsana-yachana*', by itself, as 'soliciting (his) commands'. Again, once we accept that '*śāsana*' meant a charter here, the question at once arises, what kind of charter is it. So it is necessary to connect '*garutmadaṅka*' and '*svavishayabhukti*' with '*śāsana*' as adjectival phrases. Hence it is wrong to translate them, *by themselves*, as 'giving Garuḍa-tokens', and 'surrendering the enjoyment of their territories'. There is no need to bring in 'giving' and 'surrendering' if we connect '*garutmadaṅka*' and '*svavishayabhukti*' as adjectival phrases with '*śāsana*'. It is now clear that '*yāchana*' is the controlling word of the passage and Fleet is wrong in bringing in 'giving' and 'surrendering' into it. The passage '*garutmadaṅka - svavishayabhukti-śāshana - yāchana*' is inter-connected and must be translated *as a whole*.

Now, we must go in detail into the meaning of the passage. Fleet took '*garutmadaṅka*' to refer to Gupta coinage.[2] Jayaswal also has taken it to refer to Gupta coins. But Jayaswal has translated the passage differently from Fleet. He has given two meanings to the passage '*garutmadaṅka - svavishayabhukti - śāsana-yāchana*'; (1) asking for charters ('*śāsana-yāchana*') for the use of Garuḍa-coinage (*garutmadaṅkabhukti*) in their territories (*svavishaya*) (2) asking for charters (*śāsana-yāchana*) for the enjoyment of their own territories (*svavishayabhukti*). But, instead of straining the meaning of the words like that, we can adopt a plain meaning. Jayaswal has said that the kings who accepted the suzerainty of Samudragupta begged for charters for the enjoyment (use) of Garuda coins in their own provinces. But this seems to be unwarranted. What is referred to in the passage is not the *enjoyment of Gupta coins* in their territories by the subordinate allies of Samudragupta, but the *enjoyment of their own territories* by them. The charters, issued by Samudragupta when the subordinate rulers like Daivaputra-Shāhi - Shāhānushāhi, begged for them, permitted them to enjoy the government of their own territories. This is the plain meaning of the passage.

The meaning of the passage depends on the interpretation we give to *garutmadaṅka*. Jayaswal says that '*garutmadaṅka*' refers to Gupta coinage. He gives two reasons for this. Firstly, we find Garutman (Garuḍa) on some coins of Guptas and therefore '*garutmadaṅka* (that which has Garuḍa mark on it) must refer to Gupta coinage. Secondly, we find one or two coins of Gaḍaharas and Shalada - Shakas, who are classed among the subordinate rulers under Samudragupta. These coins seem to have traces of some marks on

1. *Ibid* p. 208.
2. *C. I. I. Gupta inscriptions*, p. 14, n. 3.

Gupta coins on them.[1] So the subordinate rulers must have adopted those traces, after asking for charters to permit them to do so.

But '*garutmadaṅka*' need not refer to Gupta coinage only. It may refer to coins, seals or anythings which have the mark or figure of Garuḍa on them. Jayaswal has said that '*Garutmadaṅka*' means the coin bearing Garuḍa, like the Nānāṅka meaning the coin bearing Nāna. We do not deny that '*garutmadaṅka*' may refer to a coin bearing Garuḍa. But what we say is that it need not necessarily refer to all Gupta coinage, whether the bird Garuḍa is found or not on them. In fact, not all Gupta coins bear Garuḍa bird on them. Therefore, we cannot invariably equate *garutmadaṅka* with Gupta coinage. Secondly, *garutmadaṅka* may refer strictly to 'anything having the mark or figure of Garuḍa on it'. It may be, as we have already said, a coin, a seal, or a charter or anything. In the passage concerned, '*garutmadaṅka*' must be connected with '*śāsana*' as an adjectival phrase. Thus, '*garutmadaṅka śāsana*' means a '*śāsana*' bearing the figure or symbol of Garuḍa on it. Garutmadanka is correctly translated as 'Garuḍa symbol or seal'.[2] The difference between our interpretation and the view taken by Jayaswal is now clear. Jayaswal has taken *garutmadaṅka* to be a form of noun and said that it refers Gupta coinage. But we have taken it to be an adjective to '*śāsana*'. So in our view the passage '*garutmadaṅka svavishayabhukti-śāsanayāchana*' means 'begging for charters (*Sāsana yāchana*) having the mark or figure of Garuḍa on them (*garutmadaṅka*) for the enjoyment of their own territories (*svavishayabhukti*). It must be not thought that we are entirely rejecting the view taken by Jayaswal. We only say that the view we have offered, seems to be better fitting, without any undue strain on the meaning of words.

If it is accepted that '*garutmadaṅka*' must be connected with '*śāsana*' as an adjective to it, then the significance of the whole passage is different from what Jayaswal tried to give to it. The passage cannot show as Jayaswal supposed it to do, that Samudragupta's subordinate allies begged for charters to use Gupta coinage in their territories. Its significance lies in the fact that it throws light on the state-craft of the Gupta conquerors. They did not annex what all they came across. When subordinate allies begged for retaining their territories, they re-instated them and issued charters (*śāsana*) with Garuḍa symbols (*garudanka)* permitting them to enjoy their own territories.

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVIII, p p 208—10.

2. (See P 157. 'Men & Thought in Ancient India' by R. K. Mukherjee). See also R. V. Basak's 'History of North-Eastern India, p. 924.)

THE NAYAK KINGS OF TANJORE— PATRONS OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE.*

K. SITARAMAIYA, M. A., Nizam College.

Tanjore, a historic city, is situated on the banks of one of the branches of the river Cauvery, in the midst of a fertile tract of land. Major H. A. Newell calls it "The City of Mammoth Bull", but it can be more aptly called "The City of Temples." It was the capital of Chōla Kingdom for centuries and, therefore, the scene of development of all fine arts so to say. It is one of the cities, which attracts both Indian and foreign tourists. Its high minarets (*Gōpurams*) herald it from a distance. Its importance continued from the dim past to the middle of the last century. It witnessed also the turmoil of the Carnatic Wars to some extent.

Two unique institutions stand supreme proclaiming its importance for ever. One is the "Big temple" dedicated to Lord Bṛhadīśvara, an undying relic of the Chōla rule, with its lofty and symmetrical tower and with its grand monolythic "Bull God" Nandi. The other is the monumental Manuscripts Library called "Saraswatī Mahal", with its more than 25,000 Manuscript treasures, to a great extent an untapped reservoir of Indian Literature, and one of the largest Manuscripts Libraries in the World. It is a proud relic of the Nāyak and Mahārātta rule. These two are sufficient to give to Tanjore an honourable place among the historic cities of the world. We are concerned more with the latter institution which had its genesis during the time of the Nāyaks who ruled for nearly one and a half centuries. Who are these Nāyaks? The word Nāyak sounds as a military title meaning "the leader of an army", 'a general'. This name is still used in the Indian Military phraseology. The ancestors of this Nāyak family were military commanders under the Emperors of Vijayanagar of happy memory. The great Vijayanagar Empire is gratefully remembered for having kept the Hindu culture in tact for over two centuries and a half, and giving scope for its spread through various forms of literature. This period may be said to be most fruitful for the undisturbed development of Indian Literatures in Southern India. This was rendered possible by the Vijayanagar Empire, because it prevented the turmoils of the North from penetrating into South beyond the Tungabhadra. During these centuries South India prospered in comparative peace until the French and the English came to fight for supremacy. The

* Extension lecture delivered under the auspices of the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Empire not only gave security of life and property, but also provided the country with a centralised power which could keep under control the proud revolting chiefs. The Empire was a great patron of Sanskrit literature, having been founded by the great Vidyāraṇya who was next to Śaṅkarāchārya, a staunch preserver of Hindu culture. The chiefs under the Empire vied with the supreme power to become patrons of literature in their turn. I shall quote a few sentences from Dr. S. K. Aiyengar's book *Some Contributions*.

"............Vijayanagar stood out for all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture...............It pitted itself on the south bank of the Tungabhadra in a position of advantage.............. and thus saved South India as the home for the undisturbed further development of Hinduism, such as it had come under the great Cholas of the South.................The object of Vijayanagar and those that were responsible for it was to preserve all that was Hindu, irrespective of the multifarious minor things that went to constitute the Hinduism of those days as they do that of these days............. The one object was the preservation of Hindu independence in South India, with all the multiplicity of religions, Hindu, Jain,....... and Buddhist, and providing for the further development of these on peaceful lines, a home in the country south of the river Krishna ".

The literature that grew under such auspices was indeed very great and varied. Vijayanagar Epoch also saw the growth of *Vaishṇavism* and *Mādhvaism* in the South. The peaceful political atmosphere obtaining in South India during this time tended to the spread of these twin systems founded by the two *Āchāryas*, Rāmānuja and Madhva, and also to the growth of rivalry between them on one hand, and the ancient *Advaita* on the other, along with the spread of *Śaiv-ādvaita*. These religious movements or schools of philosophy gave to Sanskrit a richness and volume of dialectic literature that is unparallelled in the history of any language.

Unfortunately the subsequent political turmoils which culminated in the Carnatic Wars and bid for supremacy by the French and the British, made the Sanskrit works of this period hidden in the private homes and the shelves of the " Saraswatī Mahal " Library. It was only after the British had firmly established themselves in South India that their attention began to be drawn to these literary treasures.[1] Therefore, until the middle of the last century the South Indian Sanskrit literature was not fully known to the public ; and for that reason any reference to it did not find place in the extant text books on Sanskrit literature. This history will not be complete

1. The establishment of the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, for instance, is an important event.

until this vast and varied field is also covered. Weber, Max-Muller, Macdonnel, Keith and Winternitz among foreign savants and a host of Indian Scholars have all tried to exhaust the Sanskrit literature known in their times. The works of all these fall short of the complete picture. If you look at the Index of Keith's Classical Sanskrit Literature (*Heritage of India Series*) you will find only the names of Jagannātha-Paṇḍitarāja and Appayya-dīkshita out of a host of South Indian Writers. Recently an attempt at a complete exposition has been made by the late Dr. M. Krishnamacharya M. A., M. L. Ph. D. I shall quote a verse from Rāmakrishna-dīkshita, the learned son and commentator of his father's *Vedānta Paribhāshā*, about the condition of South India at that time:

त्रेताग्नि धूमाकुल वीथिकांगणे गृहेगृहे यत्र वसन्ति सूरय: ।
अधीत सर्वश्रुतय: कथान्तरे विनिर्जित प्रत्यनुमानवेदिन: ॥

This is proof positive that the Vedic religion with its elaborate and interesting ritual was in vogue in South India in those times and that all the systems of Philosophy were assiduously cultivated. I shall mention a few facts.

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century the Pāndyan and Chōla kingdoms were still warring with each other but the great emperor Krishnadēva Rāya kept them within bounds. In the later years of Krishnadeva's rule the Pāndyan Kingdom became heirless, and Viśvanātha Nāyak, one of the commanders under the Vijayanagar Empire, who was noted for his courage and military skill, was appointed Viceroy, and had his court at Madura, the capital of the Pāndyan Kingdom. Achyutadēva Rāya succeeded Krishnadeva and maintained his brother's traditions in all respects. During the early years of Achyutadeva's reign the Chōla throne also became vacant. Chevvappa Nāyak who was one of the commanders of the Empire, and who, on account of his family pedigree and bravery, and having married the Emperor's wife's sister was appointed Viceroy at Tanjore, the seat of the Chōla Kingdom.

भार्याभवत्तस्य धरावलारे: मूर्त्यंबिका मूर्तिमतीवकीर्ति: ॥

Raghunāthābhyudaya

Chevappa otherwise called Sevappa having been intimately connected with the Imperial family transplanted at Tanjore, almost all the institutions and traditions of the Empire, the two most important of them being *Religious toleration* and *patronage of Letters*. Thus the Tanjore Viceroyalty along with the Madura Viceroyalty became also a seat of learning. The smaller chiefs also copied. Thus Vellore, Pudukkota, Jinji and other principalities had their court-poets and authors. The establishment of the Tanjore Viceroyalty may be ascribed to 1535.

This paper deals with the Sanskrit Literature connected with the Tanjore Court. Two dynasties, first the Nāyaks and then the Maharattas ruled in succession nearly two and half centuries. I shall take up the Nāyaks in this paper.

Four princes of this family ruled, and their names and dates may be stated thus:

Sevappa Nāyak	*From*	1535	*To*	1561
Achyuta Nāyak	,,	1561	,,	1614
Raghunātha Nāyak	,,	1614	,,	1633
Vijayarāghava Nāyak	,,	1633	,,	1673

The great personage that comes uppermost to our mind as soon as one thinks of this dynasty is Gōvinda-dīkshita, the Brahman-Minister of that court. To bring this remarkable man along with him from Vijayanagar to Tanjore was the wisest act that the first Nāyak king Chevappa did. As he came from Vijayanagar, the Imperial tradition of having a Brahman Prime-Minister was maintained. As Vidyāraṇya was to the Vijayanagar Empire, so was Gōvinda-dīkshita to the new Kingdom of Tanjore. He belonged to the same Hōsala Karnāṭa' family like Vidyāraṇya. He was also like Vidyāraṇya a *Svatantra-Sarvatantra* as the versatility of his scholarship would show. He was philosopher, friend and guide, to the Nāyak dynasty of Tanjore. Chevappa had implicit confidence in him and maintained the two fundamental principles of *religious toleration* and *literary patronage* under the guiding inspiration of this learned minister. Gōvinda [1] was younger than Chevvappa, and therefore continued

1. Dr. M. Krishnamacharya's text book of *Classical Sanskrit Literature* is so far the only comprehensive work which treats something about the Sanskrit literature of this court. He treats therein of this central figure of Gōvinda-dīkshita. The first scholar who wrote about Gōvinda was Mr. N. K. Venkatesam, Assistant Professor in the Madras Presidency College. He wrote a learned article in the *J.A.H.R.S.* (Vol. II Parts 3 & 4) in which he elaborately dealt with the life of this scholar-minister in all its aspects, That article with some of its doubtful conclusions provoked me to write a series of articles in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* as long ago as 1932. Dr. Achārya whose book was printed in 1937 does not seem to have taken notice of my contributions, for some of the doubtful conclusions of Mr. Venkatesan have been re-iterated by him. First about the dates: The periods of reign have not been stated correctly. I discussed and fixed them in my "*History of Nāyak Kings of Tanjore*" a work in Telugu published in 1932. The beginnings of this dynasty are said therein to have been laid in 1542 while it was actually 1535. The end of Chevvappa's reign is given as 1572 while I proved it to be 1561. Raghunatha's dates are mentioned thus "He ruled between 1624 to (?)" I mentioned this date under question mark as 1633. For details of Gōvinda's life Dr. Achārya depends greatly on tradition. Some of the details *viz.* that he had eight sons and one daughter, that he lived at Paṭṭēs'waram or Tiru-Nāgēs'waram, that he himself made two statues of himself and his wife, placed them in the Kumbakonam Temple and that he was deified as a god are taken in to-to from Mr. Venkatesam's article. All these are dealt with by me in my book seriatim.

to be the pivot round whom the whole administration revolved, during the first three reigns of the dynasty. Govinda died and thereafter one of the two cardinal principles was violated. That led to the fall of the dynasty. If we look into history we see unmistakably that *pride*, *immorality* and *religious persecution* were the precursors of the fall of empires. "Pride goes before fall" is the old adage.

Govinda-dikshita was minister under three rulers. His great statesmanship, sagacity and scholarship are revealed in his policy. He threw open the Tanjore Court to the followers of all religions and writers in all languages, and he proved himself to be a great administrator. These are undeniable facts.

Those were times when the three Vedāntic systems (Advaita, Dvaita and Vis'ishṭādvaita) warred against each other. That in the Tanjore Court there were the followers of all these systems speaks much about the religious toleration of the Nāyaks under the inspiration of the scholar-Minister. The *Rājaguru* was a *Vis'ishṭādvaitin* by name *S'atakratu* Srīnivāsa Tātachārya.

आस्थाने रघुनाथभूबलरिपो राचार्यचूडामणिः
श्रीमत्तातयदेशिकस्यफणितिः शृंगारवीरोज्वला ॥

Pārijatāpaharaṇam

The Minister himself was an Advaitin as evidenced from the following passage of his son's work,

इति श्रीमदद्वैत विद्याचार्य,साग्नि चित्यसर्वतोमुखातिरात्र, साग्निचित्यास वाजपेययाजि,
गोविंद दीक्षित वर नागमांब वर द्वितीय तनयस्य ॥

Chāṭurdaṇḍiprakās'ikā

A *Dvaita* poet by name Sudhīndra was bathed in gold in this Court as is evidenced by the following verse:

अतुलविविधविद्वन्मणलीलास्यमानः प्रभुमणि रघुनाथ प्रौढ भूपाल्केन ।
निखिलनिहित विद्वन्मौलिपाद स्सुधीन्द्रः परजन दुरवापं प्रापहेमाभिषेकम् ॥

Rāghavēndravijaya

The Tanjore Dt. Gazetter (p. 333) mentions that even Christians were given facilities for constructing Churches and propagation of their religion.

The Kings had complete confidence in Gōvinda. He was consulted on all points and his advice was accepted implicitly. On one occasion the Mohamedan Kingdoms from the North pressed on Penugonda, the Capital of the Empire, when Emperor Venkata requested the Tanjore Nāyak for help. Achyuta, the ruler of Tanjore was old and had only one son. In spite of that, the advice of Gōvinda was accepted and the young prince was sent to help the Empire in that crisis. He returned victorious.

गुरोर्निदेशाद्गुरु राजकार्य निर्वाहको नीति पराध्वनीनः ।
सामन्तभूपाल शतानुयातः जयप्रयाणाय समुद्यतोभूत् ॥ Sāhityaratnākara

At another time there was danger to Tanjore from all sides,—internal anarchy and external fear of enemies. Then again the advice of Gōvinda was sought after and accepted.

ससुतो वसुधा सुधाकरोसौ सहगोविंद मखीन्दुना सभायां ।
समगादथतल गोल भेदी सजयंतो गुरुणा यथामराणाम् ॥

Sāhityaratnākara

Yet on another occasion he advised that the old King might retire abdicating in favour of his son and this was at once accepted.

नृप धूर्वहतांनिजे तनूजे, वसुधा वासादिनी वरावृताय: ।
वितनुत्वरणेष्वसै विशंक: विमतानाशु विनाशयत्यजस्रम् ।

This was the Minister's advice and the King gave the following reply.

विजिताबहवो विशामधीशा: वहुधाभोजिवसुंधराप्यजस्रा ।
विदुषामपि संभृतं व्यतानि द्रविणं किंपुनरस्ति मेविधेयम् ॥

Ibid

On all occasions Gōvinda's advice bore fruit.

The actual coronation of the young prince was performed by the minister himself. Gōvinda thus endeared himself to the Nāyak Kings so much that they even offered him a seat on the throne.

"अस्य श्रीरघुनाथ भूपालरिपो । रध्यासितार्थासने ॥ Ibid

The relation between the Kings and Minister was so inseparable that a poet mentioned it ingeniously in the following verse :—

विनामाद्यंतनामानौ, महीक्षिद्दीक्षिताबुभौ ।
शस्त्रे शास्त्रे चकुशलौ, आहवेषुच ॥

The three names are: अच्युत, अनंत, गोविंद

The third Nāyak king, Raghunātha was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. He was born during the life time of the first King, Chevvappa and showed signs of precosity even very early. Govinda took charge of the education of this boy and made him an expert in arts, literature, war and administration. His reign was to Tanjore what Krishnadēvarāya's reign was to Vijayanagar. Govinda's efforts in the upbringing of prince Raghunātha bore the desired fruit and Raghunātha became most renowned in all branches. Raghunath's love of art, is best illustrated by the present palace of Tanjore Kings. Though ruined it gives ample proof.

तस्यां नगर्यांतरुणार्कं विव द्विरूक्त सौभाग्यसुवर्णकुंभम् ॥

There is a tradition regarding this palace, which apart from its veracity throws great light upon Raghunātha's artistic taste. His sister by name Achyuta-Raghunāthāmbā was married to the great Tirumala Naik of Madura, who having built a palace, now extant, took his wife to have a look at it. She is said to have replied, that that,

palace did not compare even with a corner of the palace which her brother had built. Thereupon the husband was offended, as he felt that his prestige was lowered; and in rage he thrust his dagger brutally into her heart. This incident, probably true, had its political repercussions and became one of the causes of enmity between these two royal families, which ultimately resulted in the fall of the Tanjore principality. A great general, Raghunātha, won the battle of Tōpur on the Cauvery, defeating the confideracy of vassal kings of Madura, Jinji and many other smaller principalities who came to overthrow the Empire of Vijayanagar. Rāmadēva Rāya, the titular emperor was coronated on the battlefield. This battle gave a fresh lease of life to the Empire for some years. Besides, Raghunātha crossed to Jaffna (Yeḷpāṇam) by a bridge of boats, and reinstated its king there whom the Protuguese had dethroned. His early campaigns gave to the country in the latter years, that peace and tranquility, which was so necessary for administrative stability and progress of literary activity. Raghunātha was famous as an administrator; during his reign the country had bumper harvests both in dry and wet crops. About his literary talents suffice it to say that he was a great Scholar-Poet and was a patron of several languages. The following verse speaks about his talents.

> थामद्वयेपियदुनेतरि पारिजात माजीहर त्सरस मच्युत भूपसूनुः ।
> काव्यंतदत्र विबुधौघ्वु कथं कथं चि दालेखि चित्रमवधाय फणींद्र कल्पैः ॥

Sāhitya Ratnākara

His scholarship made him the *guru* to his Minister's eldest son Yajñanārāyana Dīkshita who was himself a great scholar-poet. He himself tells us :—

> काव्यालंकृति नाटकादि कलना पांडित्यमत्यद्भुतं सर्वंशोरघुनाथ भूशतमखो यस्योपदिश्यस्वयम् ।
> आदातुंगुरुदाक्षिणामभिमतामर्होप्यसौदत्तवान् कर्णालंकरणं निजंचपतकं पादांगदं कंकणम् ॥

Sāhityaratnākara

Raghunātha was himself a great author having written a number of Sanskrit and Telugu works. He wrote *Rāmāyaṇa* in Telugu which was translated into Sanskrit by Madhuravāṇi, one of the distinguished poetesses of his court. Besides he wrote *Vālmīki-charita* a *prabandha* in Telugu. In Sanskrit he wrote *Bhāratasāra* and *Rāmāyaṇa sāra* in addition to a *prabandha*, *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* mentioned above. His versatility is evidenced by the fact that he was also a great musician. *Saṅgīta sudhā* which is generally attributed to Minister Gōvinda contains passages which casts a doubt about its authorship.

> विलोक्य दूरेविबुधान्प्रणम्य संत्राक्षता न्मूर्ध्निमुदानिधाय ।

* * * *

न्यवेशयत्तानुचितासनेषु

* * * *

अस्ताविषुस्ते विबुधास्समस्ताः

* * * *

संगीतशास्त्रांबुनिधिविनथ्य धर्मिंदरेणा कृतपक्षापातः ।
प्रदेहिसंगीतसुधाम मस्ते, श्रेयांसिभूयां सिभवंति नित्यम् ॥
आ कर्ण्य तद्वाक्यमनी वहर्षात् कृतांजलिश्श्री रघुनाथभूपः, ।
श्रेयस्क रेष्वेवनियुं जतेमाम् भवादृशा इत्यभिधाय भक्त्या,
सीतासहायं हृदि रामचंद्रम् भक्त्यायाकुल स्वामि नमाकलय्या,
कीर्त्यैचधर्मायचशाश्वताय तनोतिसंगीतसुधां तदग्रे ॥

Sāngītasudhā

This reveals that the King was the author of this work. But the son of the Minister Veñkaṭamakhin the author of the great musical work "*Chaturdaṇḍīprakāśikā*" says in one place:—

ततोनु रघुनाथेन्द्र मेलवीणा निरूप्यते
तल्लक्षणंतु संगीतसुधानिधिरितिश्रुते
चव्वयाच्युत भूपाल रधुनाथनृपांकिते
असत्तातकृतेग्रंथे प्रोक्तान् श्लोकान् लिखाम्यहम् ॥

Chaturdaṇḍiprakās'ikā

Though there is a slight alteration in the name of the work, scholars have identified it as the same, and also accepted the testimony. This fact is variously mentioned in works. "The author is Gōvinda-dikshita, his (Raghunātha's) Minister and the father of Venkaṭamakhin............"[2] Incidentally this brings me to mention the fact that Raghunātha was the inventor of a particular kind of *Vīṇa* on which any *Mēla* or *Rāga* may be played without change in the position of strings. See the following:

मेलांतरेतत्र समस्त रागान् प्रकाशयेास्यान् सुलभीकरोषि ॥

Saṅgītasudhā

He was also the inventor of some *rāgas* like *Jayantasēna* and some *talas* like *Rāmānanda.*

जयंतसेनादिकराग रामानंदादितालान् रचयन् विशेषान् ॥

Ibid

No wonder that in the reign of such a king the fame of Tanjore spread far and wide, and that his court was the most magnificent and powerful in South India. I shall quote a few verses.

1. The above is given in *prastāvanā* as a conversation between Pandits and Raghunātha.

2. *Journal of Music Academy* Vol. I. p. 57

चिरंतमैनैर्गम वृद्धवर्गै रन्यैश्च धन्यैर्विनयावनमैः,
षट्दर्शनी सागर पारगैश्च महीसुरैर्भूषित पार्श्वभागः
कविप्रवेकैरपि कालिदास मयूर सौमिल्लि मुरारिदेश्यैः,
कर्णाटकांध्र द्रमिड प्रबंध निर्माणविद्या निपुणैश्च कैश्चित्
वाग्गेयकारप्रमुखै रनेकैः विचित्र गीतादि कलाप्रवीणैः
तथैव वीणादि मवाद्य विद्या विचक्षणैःक्वापिनिषेव्यमाणः
नानाविधाज्ञा नरपालवर्गै *संदेशकाद्यि रसमुपास्यमानः
आस्तेपि भद्रासन मच्युतेन्द्र तनूभवश्श्री रघुनाथभूपः ॥ Ibid

In addition to the vast literary output by the poets, poetesses and scholars of his Court, one of the greatest bounties of his reign was the *Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library* with its invaluable treasures of Manuscripts, the foundation of which was laid by this Scholar Prince. "The *Mss.* described here are the results perhaps of 300 years' collections, firstly by the Nāyaks of Tanjore, secondly after about A. D. 1675, by the Maharatta Princes." (Dr. BURNELL). "The earliest beginnings of the Library must have been about the end of the 16th century when Tanjore was under the rule of Telugu Naiks who collected Sanskrit Mss. written in Telugu characters." (P. P. S. SASTRI)

The rule of the Nāyaks was a period of intense literary activity when *Mahākāvyas*, *Nāṭakas* and works on all the systems of Philosophy were produced by a galaxy of poets, scholars and philosophers, unsurpassed in the history of later Sanskrit literature. The following testimony may be quoted. "The Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries in the history of South India witnessed a large number of Sanskrit poets and philosophers. That period was, to say the least, the Golden Age of Sanskrit revival in recent times. Most of the important writers of South India flourished during this period 1500—1700. The names of Appayya-dīkshita, Nīlkaṇṭha-dīkshita, Gōvinda dīkshita, Yajñanārāyaṇa-dīkshita, Veṅkaṭa-makhi, Samarapuṅgava dīkshita, S'rīnivāsa-dīkshita (Ratnakheta), Rājachūdāmaṇi-dīkshita etc. are a few among the most famous."[2]

A majority of the above names belonged to the Court of Nāyaks of Tanjore: That obviously proves that this Court was the most important and fruitful in Southern India as the scene of the development of Sanskrit literature. Nīlakaṇṭha-dīkshita and Samaraṗuṅgava-dīkshita, two great scholar-poets, do not belong to this Court. The former of them—a grandson of Appayya dīkshita—was in the Madura Nāyak Court, and was for some years the regent ruling the principality during the boyhood of the Prince Chokkanātha. A few words about these literary giants will be useful and interesting.

1. The word means "Ambassadors."
2. Dr. Chintamaṇi in his introduction to *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇam*.

First comes the name of Appayya-dīkshita. He is one of the famous authors of South India whose name is known throughout the country. He won laurels in many disputations in Benares, and so great a grammarian as Bhaṭṭōji-dīkshita, the author of *Sidhānta-Kaumudi*, became his disciple and came to South India along with him. Appayya was honoured in all the South Indian Courts, including the Imperial capital Penugonda, where Emperor Tirumalarāya held his court, after the Battle of Tallikōṭa. Veṅkatapatirāya was the successor of Tirumalarāya, and the Imperial Court was adorned by great scholars and authors of different persuasions, as was the tradition of that court. Venkatapatirāya was one of the last Emperors of Vijayanagar who could preserve the old glory and splendour to a great extent. Appayya-dikshita seems to have become old by that time as is evidenced from the following verse:—

प्राप्तंतत्प्रपणीयं किल यादिह कियान् पूरणीयोस्तिनांश:
ल नामिष्टंवानिवर्त्यं निजविषयतया दुश्यतेकिंचिदत् ।
किंतुव्यापारमेतत् प्रथयातिफलसं येाजनार्थंपरेपाम्
प्राप्तः पुण्यैरगण्यैरिवाविबुधगणो वेंकटक्षोणीपालम् ॥ Vidhirasāyana

This verse also shows that Appayya-dīkshita placed Bhattōji in the Court of Venkatapati, himself returning to Tanjore on the invitation of Gōvinda-dikshita, the Minister. At the request of Govinda he wrote *Parimaḷa*, a commentary on Amalānanda's *Kalpataru*. Appayya was a prolific writer and is said to have composed 104 works.* He was the greatest exponent of *S'aivasidhānta* of S'rīkaṇṭhāchārya which he maintained against the onslaught of Vaishnavism and Madhvaism. These dialectics developed into a great literature, in which great scholar-philosophers like Sudhīndra, Vijayīndra and Mahāchārya and others took part. At one time his life seems to have been attempted, in one of his journeys. Probably during one of his journeys the *Mārga-sahāya-stōtra* was composed. The following verse seems to indicate this fact.

सहसं वर्तताम् पथिपथिकृते साहसकृन:
प्रवर्त्तां बाधांमायिविविधमप्या रचयितुम् ।
नलक्षीकुर्वेंहं नलिनजलिपि प्राप्तमापिबत्
ममस्वामीचामीकर शिखरि चापोस्तिपुरत: ॥ Mārgasahāyastōtra

His works are on various topics including *Alaṅkāra*, *Tarka* and *Vēdānta*; and others are *Kāvyas*, *Nāṭakas* and others as well. There is an interesting anecdote connected with his life which deserves mention here. There was one (Ratnakhēṭa) alias S'rīnivāsa

* Here are some of them. 1. Upakrama-Parākrama. 2. Upasaṃhāra-Uijaya. 3. Madhva-tantra-mukha-mardanam. 4. Appayyadīkshita-kapōla-capeṭikā. 5. Madhwādhvarakaṇṭaka. 6. Madhvādhvakaṇṭakōdharaṇ.

dīkshita whose name we find also in the above list and who was invincible in disputations, thus receiving the obeisances of scholars. Though himself a great scholar, he despaired of his ability to defeat Appayya in literary contest. Therefore he gave his daughter to Appayya as his second wife and thus received his obeisance as his father-in-law and an elder, and fulfilled his pledge. That girl, his second wife, was a great Sanskrit scholar; to her this following verse is attributed. A number of Pandits came to discuss with her father and asked her, when she was sprinkling cow-dung water in front of the threshold early in the morning, if her father was at home, informing her, however, the purpose on which they had come. She replied.

विपश्चिता मपश्चिमे,* विवादकेलि निश्चले सपत्नजित्यत्नमेव रत्नखेटदीक्षिते ।
बृहस्पतिः कजल्पति, प्रसर्पतिकसर्पराट् असन्मुखश्च षण्मुख श्चतुर्मुखश्चदुर्मुखः ॥

Appayya-dīkshita is very dear to the Andhras, because himself though a '*Vaḍama*', he expressed sorrow at his not having been a full-blooded Andhra by birth and language. The following verse is attributed to him:

अंध्रत्वमंध्रभाषाच प्रभाकरपरिश्रमः ।
तत्रापि याजुषीशाखा नात्यल्पस्यतपसः फलम् ॥

Originally his native place was Adiapalem in North Arcot District. For some years he was the court-poet of Chinna-Bomma-bhūpāla of Vellore, who became converted to Saivaism and bathed Appayya-dīkshita in gold coins, which Appayya utilised in building a temple to God Śiva as is evidenced from an inscription. The following verse is an extempore composition about Appayya-dikshita of a poet who visited the Vellore Court.

नानादेशनरेन्द्रमंडल महायत्नातिदरभिवत्
कादेाचत्कपदारविंदविनतरप्पय्य यज्वप्रभोः ।
शैवोत्कर्षपरिष्कृतै रहरहस्सूक्तैस्सुधालालितैः
फुल्लत्कर्णपुटस्य बोम्मनृपतेः पुण्यानिगण्यानिकिम् ॥

Appayya lived between 1520 and 1593 A. D.

Next comes Śrīnivāsa or Ratnakhēṭa-dikshita. He was as great a scholar-poet as Appayya himself. That scholar was for a long time the court-poet at Jinji during the rule of Sūrappa Nayak. As I have already pointed out, Śrīnivāsa was the father-in-law of Appayya through the latter's second marriage. He belonged to a family of scholars. Bhāvasvāmi I, the author of a *Vēdabhāshya*, and Bhāvaswami II the author of *Advaitachintāmaṇi* were his ancestors. His son was the brilliant Rājachūḍāmaṇi-dīkshita, a renowned scholar and author. Both the father and son were versatile in

* who is in the forefront

knowledge, prolific in authorship, and called themselves *Sarvatantra-Svatantras*. While one adorned the Court at Jinji the other was an ornament to the Court of Tanjore. After some years, the father also joined the son at Tanjore to take rest in his old age. 'Ratna-khēṭa' became the surname of the family after S'rīnivāsa, because of this *sloka* which he wrote in *Rukmaṇī-pariṇaya-kāvya*.

सन्ध्या [1] सन्धुक्षितांभोधर नलिकगणा दुद्गतान् सीसखंडान्
ताराकारान्निरोद्धं शशि रवि कपटात बिभ्रतो रत्नखेटै :।
अन्योन्यं शुम्भामानौ, उभयचरमभूभृत् प्रवीराविति द्रा
गुक्याख्यातापराख्य: क्षितिपतिवचसा रत्नखेटाध्वरीति ॥

This anecdote reminds us of the one about Bhavabhūti or Nichula. He was the recipient of an *agrahāra* from Sūrappanāyak, which is named after the donor as 'Sūramangalam'. His '*Bhāvanā-Purushōttama*' is a great drama and belongs to the class of *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* as an allegory. Sūrappanāyak, the patron of S'rīnivāsa, though cruel and ungrateful, lives in history on account of his patronage of literature through the works of scholar-poets like S'rīnivāsa.

I shall now deal with the family of Govinda-dīkshita. Dr. Chintamani mentions three members of this family, the father and his two sons. Gōvinda has already, been referred to; he became the pivot round which the Nāyak Court of Tanjore revolved. Among his sons only two, Yajñanārāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭmakhi are mentioned, but there are others also who are great. The family continued to be one from which great scholars and poets were born. The present S'aṅkarāchārya of Kanchi-Kāmakōṭipīṭha is a scion of this family, by female descent. So was the great *Mimānsaka* Veṇkaṭa Subbā Sāstri who was a professor of Mīmānsakā in the Madras Sanskrit College. Another of the sons of Gōvinda, by name Lingādhvari was a great scholar and wrote a commentary on *S'iva-sahasranāma*. Both Yajñanārāyaṇa and Veṇkaṭamakhi were great scholar-poets, and ornaments of the Tanjore Court. I suggested already that the elder Yajñanārāyaṇa was the desciple of the ruler Raghunātha himself, who afterwards made him one of his Court poets.[2] Yajñanārāyaṇa was the author of many works; one is *Sāhityaratnākara*', a historical *Mahākāvya*; *Raghunātha Bhūpavijaya* is a work on rhetoric on the lines of *Pratāparudrīya* and *Raghunāthabhūpālīya-Nāṭaka* is a historical drama. Though comparatively young he disappeared from the Court of the last of the Nāyaks along with his father. He and the last ruler are said to be of the same age and jointly educated. God only knows how the schism occured between them. We are told that religious persecution of the non-Vaishnavites began under the guidance

1. *sandhukshita* means 'kindled'

of S'atakratu S'rīnivāsa Tātāchārya, the Rājaguru; and all non-Vaishnavites fled from the Tanjore Court. The glory of Tanjore Nāyaks disappeared with the last ruler, Vijayaraghava nāyak, and passed on into the hands of Ekoji, the step-brother of the Great Sivāji. The descendants of Gōvinda were *Karmishṭhas* and were renowned equally both as scholars and poets. Every one of his sons performed a *Yajña* as their names indicate. Everyone was well versed in the *S'rauta* ritual as is evidenced by some of their works.[1] Between the two brothers, Veṇkaṭamakhi appears to be more versatile than the elder brother Yajñanārayaṇa. He made his name immortal by two of his works. One is *Vārtikābharaṇa* (*Ṭupṭīka-vyākhyā*), a *Mīmāmsa* work, and the other is *Chaturdaṇḍi-prakāśa* a work on Music. The former is a commentary on Kumarila's *Ṭupṭīkā*, which is itself a running commentary on a portion of Jaimini's *Mīmānsā Sūtras*. This is the second commentary known to the world on *Ṭupṭīkā* of Kumārila along with Pārthasārathi's *Nyāyaratna* and is therefore a very rare work. The other is a revolutionary work on Karnatic Music, and the theory of division of all *Sampūrṇa Rāgas* (into 72 varieties according to *S'uddha*, *Madhyama* and *Pratimadhyama*) is an innovation made by this scholar musician, on which the whole structure of Karnatic Music now depends. Besides, he composed several melodious and soul-stirring songs like Purandaradāsa. His theory is followed by the great Tyāgarāja, the Andhra saint, musician-poet, and is now accepted on all hands in Southern India.

Among the galaxy of scholar-poets mentioned by Dr. Chintamani the last connected with the Tanjore Court is Rājachūdamaṇi-dīkshita the great son of the great S'rīnivāsa (Ratṇakhēṭa). This poet is as prolific in his writings; and his works are as varied in their topics as that of Appayya-dīkshita. Some of his works, very few of them are now published which are sufficient to prove his talents as a poet and scholar. Though it appears to be an exaggeration, it is mentioned that he wrote a drama in his seventh year.

तेनाह्गिर्भे सप्तमेएवहायने, विरचय्य सबहुमानं,

अस्माकंहस्ते दत्ताकिल कमलिनीकलहंसनामधेयानाटिका Prasthāvanā·

Such was his genius. He seems to have lisped in numbers like Pope, the English poet. His *Sāhitya Sāmrājya* is again a rhetorical work on the lines of Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya*. He wrote about a dozen plays. Dr. Chintamaṅi in his introduction to *Rukmiṇī-Kalyāṇa* mentions him as one of the greatest writers in Southern India. Verily he was one!

1. The first work was published by the Madras University and edited by Dr. Chintamani. The other two, १. शुल्बमीमांसा and २. कर्मान्तवार्तिकम्, are still unpublished.

In addition to the above there were many others who adorned the Court of Tanjore. Yajñanārāyaṅa mentions two of them, Krishṇādhvari and Diṇḍima.

प्रागेव वर्णिता विद्वदंवतंसायितवचसा कृष्णयज्वना,[1]

डिंडिम कुलमंडनेन, पंडितशिखामणिना, सोमनाथेन ॥ Raghunāthabhūpavijaya-nātaka.

Besides the above there were some poetesses who scored over men poets and who were experts in *Satāvadhāna* and *Āśūkavita*.[2] Two names stand out among many,—of Madhuravāṇi and Rāmabhadrāmbā. The former has justified her name by writing a *Mahākāvya* of fourteen *sargas*. *Rāmāyaṇasāra* was written by Madhuravaṇi at the bidding of Raghunātha; it is a translation of his Telugu Rāmāyaṇa. Her name itself was given by the King.

चतुरमधुरवाणीं सम्यगाकर्ण्ययस्याः ।

सदसिमधुरवाणीनामदत्तं त्वयैव ॥

Here are a couple of verses to show her poetic talent.

यदंतरावर्तित नर्तनानां, सीमंतिनीनांश्रममाक्षिपंन्ति

पर्यन्तयंत्र प्रतिमाकराग्र प्रकीर्णजाताः पवमानपोताः ।

* * * *

बंदीकृता येनपरक्षितीश, महामणीमंडितकीर्तिकन्याः

पराार्थ्यदन्त प्रतिमानिभेन, स्तंभं समालंब्यचिरं वसंन्ति॥ (Rāmāyāṇa sara kāvya)

The second poetess Rāmabhadrāmbā is the author of the Kavya, *Raghunāthābhyudaya*. This, along with *Sāhityaratnākara* of Yajñanārāyaṇa, is one of the sources of history of the Nāyak Rule. Her poetry is likewise of the best variety. I will quote only one verse.

वेलापथेनस्वविभोगजानां, कर्णानिलैःकेतकगर्भरेणुः ।

प्रसारितस्तलपयःपयोधिमाकल्पयन्तं तंलवणांबुराशिम् ॥ (Raghunāthābhyudaya).

She claims that she was a wife of Raghunātha : नाथो मम श्रीरघुनाथनेता।

Inspite of this direct evidence there are some who say that she was only a concubine! A detailed notice of these various authors and their works is not only beyond the scope of this paper but the subject matter of a big treatise. There are some others whom I have not mentioned for want of space. Blessed are the scholars, poets, poetesses and rulers of those days who made themselves immortal "leaving their foot prints, on the sands of time"

1. Krishṇādhvari was the author of a double entendre Kāvya in Telugu called Naishadhiya-pārijāta blending the stories of *Nalacharita* and *Parijatapaharana*. Telugu is the only Indian language which contains a number of such *Kavyas*. *Dindima* is yet to be identified.

2. कतिकतिनक्षितिपतयः, किंते रघुनाथनायकायंते, ।

भुविबहवःफलितरवः, किंते संतानपादपायंते ॥

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M. A., PH. D.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT MANAGEMENT AND THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT (1769—1779)

(Continued from p. 92 of the previous issue)

Thomas Rumbold.

The first report of the Circuit Committee[1] naturally comprised an account of the military strength of Vijayarama Razu. It is impossible to credit this report with the responsibility for the reduction of the Vijayanagaram zamindari, since it was dated 16 August 1777, the day previous to, and was read in Madras revenue consultations ten days after, the actual surrender of Vijayarama Razu. Equally impossible is it to say how far the investigations of the Committee during the nine months preceding the fall of the fort of Vijayanagaram supplied the Madras government with information sufficient to induce them to pursue such a forward policy. Hence, the value of the sections of this report dealing with the military position of the zamindari is very doubtful. Yet, the report clearly reveals the exact situation of the affairs in the Chicacole Sarkar and undoubtedly helped the Madras government to formulate plans for the general de-militarisation of the Sarkar which was systematically carried out subsequently.

The accounts perused by the Committee "were broken and unfinished", and their investigations were greatly handicapped by want of access to the village accountants. The revenues of Vijayarama Razu were estimated at twenty lakhs of rupees a year. Of this, six or seven lakhs, or nearly a third of the gross revenues of the zamindari, were generally expended on the maintenance of a regular force of eleven thousand *sibbandi*[2]. Sitarama Razu was "well known to be a man of great intrigue, abilities and persuation" and kept a constant correspondence with the other zamindars awaiting an opportunity to take the field against the Company. The renters of the Chicacole and Kasimkota *haveli* lands were not entitled to any abatement of their rents.

1. *Circuit Committee to Madras*, dated Chicacole 16 August, *Rev. Cons.* 27 August, Vol. 19. pp. 522—48.

2. Eight thousand troops were stationed at Vijayanagaram. Two thousand three hundred of these were "sepoys with firelocks, of which eleven hundred are clothed and a thousand and seven hundred receive the same pay as the Company's".

The second report of the Circuit Committee[1] throws a lot of light on the proprietary rights of the zamindars, *inamdars*, renters and, finally, of the actual cultivators of the soil, even though some of their contentions and observations as to fact are questionable. The resolution of the Madras government on this report is not of any real significance as Johnson and Perring who are signatories to the report happened to be members of the Council when it came under their consideration.

"The Chicacole havelly is, in general, we understand, thinly populated and not sufficiently stocked with bullocks for cultivation and that on this account many spots capable of cultivation have been neglected for many years past". A succession of short leases entirely ruined the country as "in a short lease the renter must necessarily be discouraged from launching out in *(sic)* any considerable improvements on account of the danger his property would be liable to from the failure of rains and as he can have no certainty of his expenses being reimbursed". "The computation of the produce being fixed too high in several villages where they (*sic*) fell and partly as the price at which the Government's share was charged to the inhabitants being rated above the due medium of value", the cultivators were heavily indebted to the renters. Further, the Company sustained a loss of a lakh and a half of rupees during the management of the *haveli* lands by Akkaji and Mir Sahib. The Vijayanagaram family was aggressive in usurping the Kotapalem *pargana*[2] from its lawful zamindar whose family first obtained possession of it from Hafiz-ud-Din, Nawab of Chicacole, as far back as 1725, and of the Gunupuram and Nerumandalam *parganas*[3] which rightfully belonged to Jagannadha Deo, Raja of Kamidi. Sitaram Razu claimed illegally and enjoyed the revenues of certain *haveli* villages valued at Rs. 45,000.

The Committee did not approve the usual practice of appointing inexperienced *tahsildars* to collect the revenues of the lands of defaulting renters and zamindars. With a view to obviate the existing undesirable features in the administration of the Chicacole Sarkar, as enumerated above, they recommended that the *haveli* lands be leased out to Padmanabha Razu for a period of ten years believing that such a course would improve the revenue conditions to an astonishing extent. The improvement of the revenues being

1. *Circuit Committee to Madras.* 10 September. *Rev. Cons.* 18 November Vol. 19. pp. 628-64.

2. In the Chipurupalli taluk of the Vizagapatam district.

3. In the Gunupuram taluk of the Vizagapatam district. I am not able to identify the Nerumandalam *pargana* which word in all probability is not in current use. Its nearest equivalent is Hirmandalam due north of Chicacole and n. n. w. of Palkonda.

their primary interest, the Committee recommended that all the outstanding balances must be considered as revenue "whether received or not" and inserted accordingly in the Company's accounts. Further, they thought it proper when preparing *kauls* "to insert such conditions in order to preclude all pretensions in the renter (*sic*) to deductions at the expiration of the term on the ground of former precedents." The Vijayanagaram family was not entitled to the retention of the Kotapalem *pargana* and Timma Razu the rightful owner should be restored to it on a reasonable rent. Likewise, the offer of Rs. 25,000 by Jagannadha Deo, Raja of Kimidi, for the Gunupuram and Nerumandalam *parganas* might be accepted and the countries delivered to his charge, as these were obtained by Sitarama Razu as lately as 1771. " We conceive the lands themselves are unalienable " and " it appears to us to be not only inconsistent with the submission due to the supremacy of the Company's government that the Zamindars should privately alienate any part of the lands of their Zamindaries, but further the allowing of such a practice would be no less repugnant to principles of sound policy ". As to the *haveli* villages, continued possession by Sitarama Razu had not created any legal right for him. They were first obtained by the Vijayanagaram family in 1741 during the governorship of Jaffar Ali Khan, whose inefficient administration resulted in his removal and the appointment of Abdali Khan. Vijayarama Razu, the Great, found means to arrange for the reappointment of Jaffar Ali and subsequently defeated the Hyderabad forces in 1752. Then followed the administration of Bussey. The villages in question were never relinquished even during the management of Ibrahim Khan who was appointed as the French deputy in the Chicacole Sarkar when Bussey finally left the Northern Sarkars. Finally, no authentic *sanads* under the Hyderabad seal, were produced by the Vijayanagaram family. Even if there were any, " it cannot, we think, be doubted that the Company by the cessions that was made them of the Circars by the Court of Delly, became immediately possessed of all the rights over them, that resided in the Mogul government ". On all these grounds the Committee recommended that the *havēli* villages concerned be taken possession of by the Company and managed on their own account.

The committee reported that it was customary for the company to realise the revenue from the inhabitants in specie and not in kind. When the grain was ripe the renter or his agents attended by the head inhabitants and the village conicoplies [1] made a computation of the produce. In case of a disagreement, the fact that the grain

1. The corrupt form of the Tamil word *Kānakapillai* which signifies a Village accountant. See Wilson : *Glossary*, o. v. p. p. 255.

was under the surveillance of the renter coerced the inhabitants into acquiescence. Attested copies of documents stating the quantity of the produce were deposited in the *muzumdari* office. The renter then ordered the inhabitants to gather the produce, and the price charged by the government for its share was then established. There were no specific regulations observed in the fixation of the price, but it was incumbent on the Muhammadan *nawabs* or managers, to assemble all the *Sahukars*, the principal inhabitants and the *kazi* of the village, and take their opinions in writing before the price was fixed. The Committee confessed their inability to assess the degree of security enjoyed by the cultivator in a transaction like this as there was "in this country no intermediate independent judicial power for him to appeal for the redress of his grievance". It is hardly necessary for us to point out that in settling the computation of the produce of the harvests and establishing the standard price for regulating the government collections, great openings are unavoidably given for fraud and abuse and that if either case injustice be wilfully inflicted, the inhabitants having the whole weight of government to contend with, must necessarily be in a hopeless condition." The villages did not maintain any registers, and hence it was not possible for them to ascertain with accuracy the number of the inhabitants. The modes of their occupation and the figures supplied by the renters of the *havēli* lands under these heads were consequently untrustworthy.

The more significant part of this report deals with lands enjoyed mostly rent free under various and varying titles and rights. These include *jagirs*, *inams*, *agraharams*, *srotriams* and *brahmani manyams*.[1] The administration of the Chicacole nawabs and renters not only increased the number of these grants but also left undefined the respective rights of the individuals enjoying them. "Too rich and too well fortified with powerful connections to be exposed to any scrutiny at the Durbar, and consequently too little interest, and concerned with respect to the condition in which they might leave the public revenue, the Chicacole Nabobs seem not to have been very scrupulous in lavishing the government possessions". A thorough and critical examination of these grants was not possible. "It is, however, difficult to get at the truth of an enquiry of this nature. The interests of the claimants, the frauds of the renters, the good nature of bystanders, being all considerable obstacles. Those Sunnuds which we have marked as appearing to us to be wholly admissible [2] were granted, as you will observe, part

1. These are fully dealt with in the glossary. Their validity alone is here discussed from the historical point of view.

2. It is to be regretted that the numerous enclosures to this important report have not been preserved in the India Office Records.

of them by persons who could not have been authorised to perform such acts, and part of them were since the establishment of the Company's government", and hence illegal without confirmation and recognition by the Company. The various grants may be classified under the following heads:

(1) Grants under the Hyderabad seal.

(2) Grants of *nawabs* of the Hyderabad government confirmed by successive administrations to the time of the expulsion of Jafar Ali Khan by Vijayarama Razu the Great in 1752.

(3) Grants as in No. 2, but not confirmed by successive governments.

(4) Grants made from the time of the expulsion of Jafar Ali Khan to the conquest of the Sarkars from the French and further to the cession of them to the Company by the Mughal government (1765).

(5) Grants for which the *sanads* are said to be lost, but without any attestation thereof and which have been continued under the orders of successive renters.

(6) Grants on account of offices which have become obsolete under the Company's administration.

(7) Grants since the conquest of the Sarkars from the French or cession of them by the Mughal government.

The Committee deplored that the Company had not so far maintained a register of the grants enjoyed by various individuals besides those given to their subordinate servants. " Whichever of these grants, or denominations of grants, your honor &c may judge proper to continue, they should, we think be officially registered, and Sunnuds for them expressing the quantity of ground, and the purposes for which it was bestowed should be given (*sic*) under the Company's seal". They further pointed to the fact that "no record has been kept in the accounts of the particular sums received by the several Inaumdars", and confessed that the block figure representing such receipts had not led them to any definite conclusions about them.

The Chicacole *haveli* lands must be freed from the deductions of the *muzumdari* office which constituted "the superintending and controlling power over all village Conicoplies". This office was one of " considerable trust and extent " under the Muhammadan government, but was gradually limited to the *haveli* lands, having been suppressed by the Zamindars with a view "to conceal the produce of their countries", and quite obsolete under the Company's administration. As the *muzumdar* was never legally entitled to any grants in land, but only to one per cent of the collections of revenue, the hereditary right to the jagir might be suppressed and Jagannadha Raju

the former *diwan* of the Vizayanagaram zamindari, might be appointed to that office on a monthly salary of a hundred and fifty pagodas.

With respect to the *inams, agrahārams and srotriams* various forms of charity lands, the Chicacole revenues suffered to the extent of Rs. 50,000 a year. All these lands were enjoyed under the grants of the renters who always had "a power of harassing and distressing" their beneficiaries. As the original *sanads* for these grants were not procurable, the Committee considered them counterfeit. "It will not, we think, be advisable under the arrangements it may be necessary to make with respect to this important article of alienation of revenue to neglect their priesthood or leave them unprovided for ....It will undoubtedly be proper that their possession under our establishment should be restricted to some reasonable limit."

The immediate effect of this report was that the Chicacole paragana was leased out for ten years (1777—1787) by the temporary government of John Whitehill,[1] to Sitarama Razu instead of Padmanabha Razu the nominee of the Circuit Committee. The Vizagapatam Council entertained serious misgivings as to this decision. Since it discarded an offer of Rs. 40,000 more from a man of outstanding integrity and requested for a reconsideration of the matter, in view of the 'established custom' of the subordinate settlements to recommend suitable persons for the rent of the government lands.[2] In this they had the support of the Court of Directors.[3] Still, the offer from Sitarama Razu was demonstrably to the benefit of the company inasmuch as the rent for 1776—7 (Rs. 1,70,000), which was gradually increased to Rs. 2,73,000 by 1786—7 was actually productive of a surplus of Rs. 7,60,000 in ten years. This, the Madras government wrote to the Court, "is to be attributed mostly to the enquiries your honors had directed to be made by your Circuit Committee".[4] The result of this decennial lease was to strengthen the position of Sitarama Razu and to complicate Vijayanagaram politics for an indefinite period of time.

1. *Rev. Cons.* 19 December, Vol. 19. pp. 800-805. See also *Madras to Vizagapatam and to Ganjam.* 24 and 27 December, respectively, idem. pp. 807 and 808.

2. *Vizagapatam to Madras,* 17 January 1778, *idem.* 2 February. Vol. 20. p. 62.

3. *Madras Dispatches.* 10 January 1781, para. 18 Vol 9, p. 337. See also Appendix No. 153. to the *Sec. Rep.* It is significant to note that the Court of Directors waited for three years for a review of the proceedings of the Madras government relative to the Circuit Committee and that only after definite steps were contemplated against Sir Thomas Rumbold.

4. *Madras Letters Received.* 5 February, 1778 (Whitehill) para. 28. Vol. IX pp. 92-93.

At this stage, the Circuit Committee was reorganised owing to the suspension of Floyer from the Company's service and the promotion of Johnson and Perring to membership of the Madras Council.[1] The reconstituted Committee[2] consisted of John Hollend, Quintin Craufurd, Edward Saunders, Robert Barclay and John Huddleston. The three members last named were junior servants of the Company. The Court of Directors acquiesced in these appointments even though their original orders were for the Committee of Circuit to consist of members of the Madras Council.[3] The Whitehill government were fully intent upon the prosecution of the Committee's work and as early as 13 January 1778 admonished them for their inaction.[4] But the Committee was definitely suspended by the Rumbold government which shortly superceded it.[5]

1. Whitehill wrote a personal letter to the Court of Directors deploring the want of senior servants for the administration of the presidency. See. *Whitehill to the Court,* October 1777. in *Madras Letters Received* Vol. 8, pp. 433 45.

2. *Rev. Cons.* 5 December 1777. Vol. 19. pp. 745 48. See also App. No. 11 to the *Sec. Rep.* See further, *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 5 February 1778, (Whitehill) paras. 29-30, Vol. 9. pp. 93-94.

3. *Madras Dispatches.* 10 January 1781 para. 14. Vol. 9 pp. 331 32. See also Appendix No. 163 to the *Sec. Rep.*

4. *Rev. Cons.* 13 January 1778. Vol. 20. p. 29.

5. See *Madras Letters Received* (Revenue) 4 March 1778 (Rumbold), therein Madras intimated their desire to defer the measures of the Whitehill government until they had time to inquire into the same. General Munro and Thomas Rumbold were primarily for this resolution Vol. 9. pp. 161-162.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD. (1778—1780).

"The system of administering revenue was that of farming large tracts of country to whomsoever could best afford to pay for them. Portions of these tracts were again sub-let to other farms......who were supreme in the districts which they farmed".

Sutherland: *Sketches of the Relations subsisting between the British government in India and the different Native States.* (1833).

"The unqualified conveyance by the government itself of most of its powers to these large speculative renters, necessarily conferred upon them the most ample means of oppression and appears to have occasioned, but in a still greater degree, the unjust and vicious system of internal administration which existed in the Zamindary lands".

The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons. (1812).

1. THE SUSPENSION OF THE CIRCUIT COMMITTEE:—

Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived in Madras on 8 February 1778. On 27 February he desired his Council to allow him time to inform himself sufficiently of the position of arrears in the Chicacole Sarkar and of the work of the Circuit Committee.[1] He declares that he then directed his attention to "the balance due from...... (the zamindars), the apprehension of the approaching war, the dislike of the zamindars themselves to the Committee of Circuit, the ideas they entertained of it, and the dread they had of being deprived of their hereditary possessions which no assurances could remove......".[2] On 24 March he delivered a minute advocating the suspension of the Circuit Committee.[3] By an unanimous vote the government resolved that "the appointment of a Committee of Circuit be for the present discontinued" and wrote home "that it would be impolitic, expensive and unnecessary in every point of view to continue the plan that had been adopted previous to our arrival".[4] The zamindars, renters and the lesser officials were ordered to repair to Madras for the settlement of the *jamabandi* and the members of the Circuit Committee were directed to join

Suspension of the Circuit Committee.

1 *Rev. Cons.* of the same date, Vol. 20 pp. 75-76; also *Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy,* p. 7 (1781).

2. *Briefs for the Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold,* Vol. I. f. 8 *British Museum, Addl. MSS.* No. 28, 159.

3. *Rev. Cons.* of the same date Vol. 20. pp. 80 104; also *Sec. Rep.* Appendix No. 15.

4. *Madras letters Received,* 17 October, 1778, para, Vol. IX, (pages not numbered)

their previous positions drawing half allowances from 5 December 1777 to date.

The suspension of the Circuit Committee formed one of the principal charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the causes of the Carnatic War and the existing condition of the Company's possessions,[1] and figures prominently in the private Bill of Pains and Penalties brought against him and Peter Perring, one of his Council at Madras.[2] Hence, it is necessary to enter into a detailed examination of the subject.

By the time Sir Thomas Rumbold took charge of the government of Fort St. George, certain incidents had occurred which militated against the instructions of the Court of Directors when appointing the Committee of Circuit.[3] For about a year the Committee did not proceed on its work.[4] This dilatoriness on the part of Lord Pigot and his Council was never remarked upon by the Court of Directors, Sir Thomas himself being one of them at the time.[5] During Stratton's government, three junior servants were appointed to the Committee which was contrary to the Court's orders,[6] but this irregularity was condoned by them when the Madras dispatches announcing this particular came under their consideration on 2 April 1777, three months before Sir Thomas sailed for Madras.[7] Concerning the administration of Sir Thomas Rumbold himself, the Court tentatively approved of his settlement with the zamindars at Madras,[8] while no further review of the same with their opinion thereon was offered till 10 January 1781.[9]

Antecedents to Suspension.

By a curious coincidence, the Circuit Committee of Bengal appointed considerably earlier offered a ready illustration to Sir

1. *Sec. Rep.* (1781.)

2. Introduced on 29 April 1782 and abandoned on 3 December 1783.

3. Seen in the previous chapter.

4. The Committee was appointed in London on 12 April 1775. Lord Pigot minuted on 1 August 1776 that the work of the Committee would take a long time to execute and on his motion the Madras Council abandoned the idea of immediately constituting it. See Appendix No. 6. to *Sec. Rep.*

5. *Briefs*, I. f. 20.

6. See in the previous chapter; See *Sec. Rep.* App. No. 7.

7. *Briefs* I. f. 21; also Mr. Bearcroft's speech in the House of Commons on 23 January 1783, in *Speeches for the Prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold* f. 13 b. *Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.* No. 28, 161.

8. *Madras Dispatches*, (Rev.) 16 June, 1779, para 22. Vol. VIII, pp. 458-459. See Appendix No. 153. to *Sec. Rep.*

9. *Idem.* 10 January, 1781, para 14, Vol. IX, pp. 331-332.

Thomas Rumbold. The Court of Directors had been apprehensive of the effects of sudden innovations likely to be introduced by the Bengal Committee. They wrote to Bengal: "We apprehend that a sudden transition from one mode to another.........may have alarmed the inhabitants".[1] Further "......after more than seven year's investigation, information is still so incomplete as to render another innovation still more extraordinary......We by no means disapprove of the attempt to obtain further information if it is necessary, but we are sorry that the conduct of the majority of the Council on the occasion has been such as to have our utter disapprobation".[2] With regard to their dealings with the Ranis of Burdwan and Rajshahi which, curiously enough, offer a ready comparison to the Madras government's attitude towards the Vijayanagaram family, they reprimanded the Bengal government: "we disapprove every mode of vexatious interference in their private concerns and utterly abhor the idea of disturbing them in the quiet enjoyment of their possession". Finally, the members of the Bengal Circuit Committee were ordered to be prosecuted, and the lands ordered to be let year by year.[3] Sir Thomas's mind was thus unconsciously prepared to apply these later views of the Court of Directors about the Bengal Committee to their earlier instructions respecting the Committee of Circuit in the Northern Sarkars.

Censure of Bengal Committe: a warning

The special difficulties of Rumbold were not inconsiderable. "He had the disgusted native to conciliate, an exhausted treasury to repair, a defensive to form against Hyder Ali's hostilities, which he was also to avert if he could".[4] The Madras treasury was in such a state that the Court of Directors expressed their great concern at "the enormous deficiency of the revenues and......the increase of your current expenses" and did not hesitate to declare......that in all events Fort St. George cannot be suffered to remain a losing settlement".[5] Sir Thomas Rumbold took charge of the government on 8 February 1778, and the revenues of the Presidency including the Northern Sarkars for the year ending 30 April 1778 were less than those of the previous year by *M. Ps.* 6,77,621, while the expenditure side showed an increase of *Mad. Pags.* 88,862, and "the total difference to the Company, buildings excepted, is Pagodas 7,66,483" Revenue collections for

Special difficulties of Sir Thomas.

1. *Bengal Dispatches*, 5 February 1777, para 8, Vol. VIII, p. 395.
2. *Idem*, 4 July 1778, paras 37-38. *Idem*, pp. 754-756.
3. *Bengal Dispatches*, 4 March 1778, paras 77-78 Vol. IX, pp. 229-233.
4. *Defence of Sir Thomas Rumbold, Baronet, Stated by his Counsel, Mr. Hardinge, in the House of Commons*, Part I, p. 7. (To be referred to as *Printed Defence*)
5. *Madras Dispatches*, (Revenue) 17 May 1780, paras 2-3, Vol. IX, pp. 157-162.

the year under review fell short of the expenditure by *M. Ps.* 3,21,657, while charges under the head of buildings and fortifications amounted to *M. Ps.* 2,05,016, the net deficit being *M. Ps.* 5,26,673.[1]

The work of the Circuit Committee had been obstructed by impediments thrown in their way by several zamindars and renters. As a tentative arrangement annual agreements had been made, however urgent might be the necessity of long leases which alone could remove the undesirable features of the existing revenue administration. Hostilities with Hyder seemed to be imminent and he was "said to be contented with an established moderate tribute which is more than the Zamindars think, the Company's ever was or ever will be".[2] The attitude of the French was equally threatening as events clearly demonstrated within a short time. Undue expectations were entertained of the work of the Circuit Committee. Rumbold argues convincingly that "had a Committee of Circuit been harassing the Zamindars, which must have been the case, for I am persuaded that Europeans in general in the Company's service are very little acquainted with the business of revenue in Hindostan,[3] and supposing the servants themselves to act rightly and without views to their own interest, the number of dubashes, officers &c. that would of course attend the Committee and on whom they must have relied for the chief part of their information, could not fail to prove an expense and burthen to the country through which they were to pass."[4] Further, "this was no time for the slow operations of a travelling Committee. Nothing was to be done that might give cause for delay, disgust the Zemindars or involve us in any disputes or trouble".[5] Finally, he considered the report of the Circuit Committee to be of doubtful value since "it is not from accounts collected from different people, some of them interested, others discontented and whinning for a change of government that the true value of a country can be estimated and the collections alone ought to determine the Jamabundy to be received".[6] The Committee itself cost the already exhausted treasury *Mad. Pags.* 36,000 a year which the Court of Directors clearly condemned.[7] One more point made the position of the Madras government precarious. By past usage, the zamindars and other principal renters.

1. *Madras Dispatches*, (Revenue) 17 May, 1780, Paras 2-3 Vol. IX pp. 157-160.
2. *Briefs*. I. f. 12
3. Loosely used for India in general as Sir Thomas was for sometime in the Company's employ stationed at Patna.
4. *Briefs* I. f. 11.
5. *Idem*. I. f. 13.
6. Rumbold's minute 1 October 1778. *Rev. Cons.* 2 October, Vol. 21, p. 663.
7. *Madras Dispatches*, (Rev.) January 10, 1781. para 7 Vol. IX. p. 326. See also Rumbold's minute in *Rev. Cons*, 4 March, 1778. Vol. 20, pp. 80-104.

in the Sarkars had been taught to consider the subordinate chiefships which immediately dealt with them as constituting the sole authority in the country. This attitude impaired the power of the Madras government and afforded every opportunity for such chiefships to usurp all the advantages which effective control over local revenue affairs could give them and screened intricate acts of maladministration, thus frustrating all efforts at the seat of government towards the ordered efficiency of the administrative machinery.

The finances of Masulipatam were bad.[1] Nor was Vizagapatam in any better condition, it had applied in vain for funds to Ganjam.[2] The position of Ganjam was equally serious, perhaps worse. Its revenues were incommensurate with the dignity and expense of the Company's establishment there, and its chiefship and council were to be abolished in favour of a cheaper residency with two assistants.[3] Its military expenses were extraordinary, Sir Hector Munro minuting that Rs. 2,80,000 were annually "incurred for the sole use of supplying their authority in the collection of revenue."[4] Heavy balances were outstanding in the Company's books. The zamindari balances under Masulipatam amounted to Rs. 1,90,518 and those of the *haveli* lands to Rs. 3,13,393.[5] The balances due from the zamindars under Vizagapatam amounted to no less than Rs. 6,44,051.[6] Ganjam had a serious tale to tell. The zamindari balances had accumulated during the decade from 1767 to 1777 to as large a sum as Rs. 12,81,359.[7] Such a state of affairs demanded the closest scrutiny by the Madras government. "The exigency of the situation called for some decisive remedy; delay was ruin; and the flow of inquiry, recommended by the Court of Directors, equally useless and impracticable".[8] "The single expedient", i.e. the suspension of the Circuit Committee, in which decision Rumbold had the unanimous support of his Council, "which

1 Masulipatam Consultations, 24 April 1778 per *Masulipatam to Madras*, 3 May, in *Rev. Cons.* 15 May, Vol. 20. pp. 186-256.

2. Vizagapatam Consultations, 5 August 1778. *idem.* pp. 532-34.

3. *Rev. Cons.* 6 August 1779, Vol. 23, pp. 4-20; 12 November, pp. 295-96; and also *Madras to Vizagapatam* 29 November, *idem.* pp. 317-19.

4. Minute of 26 June 1779. *idem.* 2 July, Vol. 22, pp. 513-18.

5. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 11 July 1778. *idem.* 20 July, Vol. 20, pp. 399-412.

6. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 16 June, idem. pp. 384-385.

7. *Ganjam to Madras*, 17 June, 1779. *Rev. Cons.* 13 July 1779. Vol. 22, pp. 588-98.

8. *Answer to the Charges exhibited against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons and in the General Letter of the Court of Directors of the 10th January 1781: By Himself.* p. 31. (To be referred to as *Answer to Charges*).

policy could suggest, or the crisis of affairs would admit, was adopted by the Presidency ".[1]

It is undoubtedly clear that in the suspension of the Circuit Committee Sir Thomas exceeded his powers. The Court of Directors took serious exception to this line of conduct and wrote to Madras: "the Court's instructions were positive and unequivocal. They could not be mistaken. No discretionary power was given you to depart from them. You have done it at your own risk, without one good reason for so doing......Disrespect to the authority and wilful disobedience of the Company shall not be permitted, nor delinquents suffered to escape with impunity". [2] On the other hand, the Committee of Secrecy accused Rumbold of precipitation in this measure and wrongly reported that the proposal for the abolition of the Circuit was adopted by the Council "as soon as it was proposed by the President." [3] But it should be remembered that the members of the Council were not unacquainted with the actual state of revenue affairs in the Sarkars, most of them having seen service in those quarters, and the business thus demanded less time than was usually required for the deliberation of other affairs of a like nature.

Unjustified attack on Rumbold.

Even though such a procedure ignored the orders of the Court of Directors, it did not merit their severe censure and ought not to have occupied such a prominent place as was accorded to it in the attack on Rumbold in the House of Commons. The political as well as the general situation of the times demanded economy and definiteness of revenue returns, and the suspension of the Circuit Committee in the circumstances in which it was suspended seems to have been justified on the whole. Further, two significant points are to be noted in this connection. The first was that there was a shortage of senior servants who could be conveniently spared for the Circuit Committee. During Lord Pigot's time there had been nine members in the Madras Council besides the President. The temporary government of Stratton which appointed the first Committee consisted of seven members. While Sir Thomas's Council comprised of only five members besides him, and in a time of grave crisis the government could ill afford to depute some of the senior members of the Council of an investigation which was to be conducted for a considerable length of time in an area four to seven hundred miles to the northward of Madras. Secondly, the Committee

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Madras Dispatches* (Revenue) 10 January 1781, para 22, Vol. IX. pp. 410-12. See Appendix 153 to *Sec. Rep.*

3. *Sec. Rep.* p. 8.

of Secrecy accused Rumbold of imposing his own ideas on the Madras Council in effecting the suspension of the Circuit Committee.[1] But Whitehill, Johnson, Smith and Perring, members of the preceding Whitehill government, unanimously agreed with him[2] only four months after they had appointed three junior servants to the first Committee and had reprimanded it for its slow progress. All these four gentlemen had occupied important positions in the Northern Sarkars and their concurrence with Rumbold is capable of a dual construction. Ostensibly, they were alive to the peculiar and grave situation of the Company's affairs, in the Sarkars and to the south. Secondly, they were obviously obsessed with the idea that any thorough investigation of the revenue affairs by an efficient Committee would bring to light any acts of peculation and mismanagement committed during their stay in the Sarkars, which certainly amounts to an act of collusion and suggests a deliberate attempt to prevent the investigation of corrupt revenue practices. In either case, the onus of the responsibility for the suspension of the Circuit Committee does not rest solely with Sir Thomas Rumbold and to accuse him of definite prior motive, as the Committee of Secrecy attempted to do is not justified.

1. Charge No. 4, in *The Case of Sir Thomas Rumbold and Peter Perring.* (Official Proceedings.)

2. Samuel Johnson even withdrew the observations made by him during the deliberations of the previous Councils of which he was a member. *Rev. Cons.* 20 July 1778. Vol. 20, p. 442.

(To be continued)

THE PASUPATA AND OTHER SAIVA SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

VADDADI APPA RAO, B. A., B. L.

The Pāśupata system of conduct and philosophy is of great antiquity; and even to-day it is a living system influencing the lives of millions of people in India. It branched off into several sub-systems, each with its own peculiar dogma, ritual and practice. In this paper an attempt is made to recount some of its various sub-systems which have been almost forgotten.

The origin of the Pāśupata system is lost in antiquity. Glimpses of it are found at the dawn of civilisation in India. The antiquities found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro point out to the existence of certain symbols which indicate their Saivite origin and significance. The earliest written evidence of the worship of Paśupati or Śiva comes from references to Rudra-Śiva in the Vedas. In the Yajurveda there is the *Rudrādhyaya*, which is recited in the worship of Śiva. There need not be any doubt, therefore, as to the identity of the Śiva of Vedas with the Śiva of the Purāṇas and the Āgamas. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, one of the earliest of all the Puranas, gives an account of the Pāśupata system.

The Pāśupata system posits Paśupati, the Lord of souls, as the supreme cause of all creation. Sāyaṇa-Mādhava describes four *Śaiva-darśanas* in his *Sarva-darśana-samgraha*: they are *Nakulīśa*, *Śaiva*, *Prtyābhijña* and the *Rasēśvara*. Of these historically the earliest is the *Nakulīśa* or *Lakulīśa-darśana*, propounded by Lakuli. The Lord Himself revealed the faith according to the Pāśupatas, and He incarnates on the earth again and again, whenever there is a falling off from the pristine purity of the faith. In the Kṛta-Yuga, the Lord incarnated on earth as Īśāna, in the Dvāpara as Mahābala, and in the Trētā as Vṛddhadēva.[1]

Lakulīśa-bhaṭṭāraka was the last incarnation of Lord Śiva in Kali-Yuga.[2] The story of the incarnation is given in the *Kārāvana-mahātyma*.[3] Lakuli was born in the Ātrēya-*gōtra* and was the son of Viśvarūpa and Sudarśana-dēvī, who were residents of Ulkā-*grāma* in the land of the Bhṛgus. Even as a child of

1. "ईशानः प्रथमे जातो द्वितीये तु महाबलः *G. O. S.* XV appendix IV.
   तृतीये तु युगे जातो वृद्धदेवो महेश्वरः
2. Gaṇakārikā (Gaekwad Oriental Series) Appendix IV.
3. *Loc. cit.*, Appendix IV, page 51.

six or seven months he exhibited supernatural powers. He died as a child and his body was thrown into a tank called Dēva-khāta by his sorrow-stricken parents. Lord Śiva entered the dead body and resuscitated it. The child was then found playing on the surface of the tank. This created a great surprise; even Ṛṣis gathered round and praised him. The child assumed a divine shape, with three eyes, flowing hair, *yajñōpavīta*, *mauñjī* (girdle), and sacred ashes. He then wandered far and wide, and finally took up his abode at Kāyāvarōhaṇa, situated on the west bank of the river Ūrvā. He lived there and taught the *Pāśupata-Siddhānta* to the degenerate Brahmins of the land. In the end he disappeared into the Brahmēśvara-*liṅga* with a sword and staff in his left hand and a citron in his left hand.[1] In the representations in sculpture, too, which are very frequent, Lakuli is generally portrayed as a human being with two hands, with a staff in the left hand and with what appears to be a citron in the left hand. There are, however, other representations of Lakuli, on *liṅgas*, with a third eye, with *yajñōpavīta*, and with the membrum virile uplifted. These are also the symbols of Lord Śiva. This representation is, therefore, in accordance with the tradition that Lakuli was the incarnation of Śiva. Lakuli has been assigned by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the first quarter of the second century after Christ.[2]

There need not be any doubt that Lakuli was born as a Brahmin and remained a Brahmin to the last. His teachings were in accordance with the Vedas. He rejuvenated the declining Pāśupata system and gave it fresh vigour. His *siddhānta* spread far and wide and became popular. His saintly life and personality attracted able and devoted disciples, who spread his teachings over all the quarters of the land. There is ample inscriptional evidence to show how this faith was propogated. The Mathurā Pillar inscription of Candragupta II (380–81 A. D.), of the Year 61 of the Gupta era records that *Ārya* Uditācārya, the supreme Māhēśvara preceptor then living, established the images of Kapilēśvara and Upamitēśvara in the *Gurvāyatana* or the 'Temple of the Teachers." There in that temple, evidently the images of all the previous Māhēśvara teachers were established and consecrated for the worship of the believers of the faith. Uditācārya is said to be the tenth in descent from *Bhagavān* Kuśika, and fourth in descent from *Bhagavān* Parāśara. He was the disciple of *Bhagavān* Upamitavimala who was himself a disciple of Kapila-vimala. These were

1. असिदण्डधरोवामे दक्षिणो बीजपूरकम् *G. O. S.* (no. XV) appendix IV.
ब्रह्मलिङ्गे महादेवि अहमपि लयंगतः ॥

2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, p. 5.

teachers in the line of Kus'ika, one of the four direct disciples of Lakuli. In the *Cintra-Prasasti*[1] we find the mention of the teachers in the line of Gārgya, one of the four direct disciples of Lakuli.[2]

It is said that Kārtika-rāsi, the *sthānādhipati*, became the ornament of the line of Gargya. The disciples of Kārtīka-rāsi were Vālmīka-rāsi and Tripurāntaka. The *Cintra-Praśasti* gives further the following information.

भट्टारक श्रीलकुलीश मूर्त्यां तपःक्रियाकांड फलप्रदाता।
अवातरद्विश्वमनुग्रहीतुम् देवः स्वयंबालमृगांकमौळिः ॥
अनुग्रहीतुं च चिरंविपुत्रकानुलूकभूतानभिशापतः पितुः
ललाटमुर्व्या इवलाट भूषणं समेत्यकारोहणमध्युवासयः
अवतेरुश्चत्वारः पाशुपत व्रतविशेषचर्यार्थं ।
इहकुशिक गार्ग्य कौरुषमैत्रेय इति तदंतमदः
ततस्तपस्विनां तेषां चतुर्था जाति रुद्गता
भुवं विभूषयामास चतुरर्णवमुद्रिताम् ॥

Lord Śiva, the grantor of rewards for austeries and meritorious rites and ceremonials, became incarnate as Lakulis'a-bhaṭṭāraka; in order to bestow favours on the Universe and in order to favour those who became owls and were long sonless on account of the curse of their fathers. Lakuli came and resided at Kārōhaṇa —the jewel of the Lāṭa country. Here arose the four disciples of Lakuli, namely Kus'ika, Gārgya, Kauruṣa and Maitrēya, for the establishment of the special and distinct *Pāśupata-caryā* or Pās'upata conduct. From these four disciples, four different races *(jātis)* or spiritual lineages were descended. These lineages became the ornaments of the four quarters of the world. The above passage fully corroborates the several facts in the life of Lakuli as detailed in the *Kāyārōhoṇa-māhātmya*. Evidently Lakuli lived to an advanced age according to the *Cintra-Praśasti* but did not die shortly after his resuscitation as stated in the *Karōhaṇa-māhātmya*. The four disciples disseminated Lakuli's teaching, but in doing so there arose differences which led to the establishment of different schools of the Lākula thought. The variances between them were merely differences in the *caryā* or 'conduct'. Unfortunately, there has not been found any evidence as to the disciples, who carried on the teaching of Kauruṣa and Maitrēya.

Rājas'ēkhara-sūri mentions in his *Ṣaṭdarśana-samuccaya* that the Saivas worship *eighteen* Tīrthaṅkaras who were believed to be incarnations of S'iva. Their names are: 1. Lakuli, 2. Kus'ika

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 271.

2. गार्ग्येय गोत्राभरणं बभूव स्थानाधिपतिः कार्त्तिकराशि नामा.

3. Gārgya, 4. Kauruṣa, 5. Maitrēya, 6. Īs'āna, 7. Pāra-Gārgya, 8. Kapilāṇḍa, 9. Manuṣyaka, 10. Apara-Kaus'ika, 11. Atri, 12. Piṅgalākṣa, 13. Puṣpaka, 14. Bṛhadācārya, 15. Agasti, 16. Santāna, 17. Rāsikara and 18. Vidyāguru. It is also stated therein that the names were recited by the Śaivas belonging to all the schools every day early in the morning. The apparent conflict between the statement of the *Vayu Purāṇa* that Lakuli was the last incarnation of S'iva and the statement of Rājas'ēkhara-sūri, disappears if we note that the latter teachers came into existence long after the redaction of the present *Vāyu Purāṇa* had come into existence. One need not express hesitation in believing that all these eighteen Tīrthaṅkaras were true historical personages, though it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to determine their age and place of activity. The practice of establishing their *Mukha-lingas* in *Gurvāyatanas* as stated in the Mathura Pillar Inscription is proof positive of the above statement. Rāsikara, mentioned in the above list, was the author of a *bhāṣya* on the *Gaṇa-kārikas*. According to another tradition, the number of Tīrthaṅkaras is twenty-eight, but we need not pause and go into that question here.

Ācārya Haribhadra mentions in his *Ṣaṭdarśana-samuccaya* that the S'aiva ascetics were divided into four classes. He quotes the following verse in support of his statement :

शैवाः पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरा स्तथा तुर्याःकालमुखा मुख्या भेदा एते तपस्विनाम् 1

He does not state the source from where he quotes it. The four important divisions among the S'aiva ascetics are : 1. The S'aivas, 2. Pās'upatas, 3. Mahāvratins and 4. Kālamukhas. This division is also given by Rāmānuja in his *S'ribhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras, and by Vācaspati Mis'ra in his *Bhāmatī*, a commentary on the *S'aṅkarabhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras. But Vācaspati Mis'ra mentions the Kāranika-siddhāntins in the place of the Kālamukhas. The name printed in Nirnaya Sagara Press edition of 1934 appears as Kāruṇika-Siddhāntins. It seems to me that it is an apparent misprint for Kāraṇika-Sidhāntins. This appellation might be due to their particular theory of *kārana* – the first category of the *Lākula-sidhānta*. According to Lakuli, the *Categories* are five in number. They are : 1. the *Kāraṇa*, 2. *Kārya*, 3. *Yoga*, 4. *Vidhi* 5. and *Duhkhānta*. Hence the system was known as the *Pañcārtha-vidya*. Of these the *Kārana* is Īs'vara Himself. 2

1. *G. O. S.* (No. 15) appendix II. page 30.
2 कर्मादिनिरपेक्षस्तु स्वेच्छाचारी यतोह्ययं । ततः कारणतः शास्त्रे सर्वकारणकारणम् ॥

G. O. S. (XV) appendix II.

S'aṅkara refutes this theory in his *bhasya* on Brahmasutra (No. 37 *pāda* and *adhyāya* II), *patyu-ras-āmanjasyāt*.

The disciples of Lakuli seem to have differed from Lakuli himself as to the cause of creation being Īs'vara *alone.* They seem to have put forward the theory : कर्मादि सापेक्षः परमेश्वरः कारणम् . The *Lākula siddhānta* is a *Vaiśeṣika* system ; it is also a *Vaidika* system. The disciples of Lakuli were mainly followers of *Nyāya,* though in later days, the two systems *Nyāya* and *Vaiśēṣika*, merged into one another. Some modern writers observe that the Lakulikas were Sāṁkhyas but it is not correct. The Lakulikas abhorred the Sāṁkhya system.

We are not yet in a position to state whether the four classes of the S'aivas referred to above correspond to the four *jātis* or schools that were established by the four direct disciples of Lakuli. But this much we can gather from the inscriptions : the Kālamukha school which appears to be the largest of all the schools, belonged to the Lākula system. The Taṇḍikoṇḍa Copper-plate of the Eastern Calukya King Ammarāja II[1] (A. D. 945-970) which was ably edited by the learned Editor of this Journal mentions Vidyēs'vara, the *rājaguru,* and his line belonging to the Kālamukha school. The following verses from that inscription are very interesting.

"युगे युगे स्वीकृतरुद्रमूर्त्तयो मुनीश्वराः श्रीलकुलीश्वरादयः ।
बभूवुरत्रानुगृहीत सज्जनाः स्वयंभुवो धर्मपथप्रदर्शिनः ॥
तदन्वयेकालमुखा श्रुतिमुख्याः भुविभूभृतामभिवंद्याः । तस्मिंहपर्षदस्ते स्थानाधिपतयः इहहित चरिताः ।
तेषाममरवटेश्वराद्यनेकपुराण देवायतन निवासिनां कालमुखानां संततौ ॥"

It is clear from the above that the Kalamukhas were followers of the *Lākula-Samaya* and that they were divided into *Parṣas, Parṣads* or *Pariṣads.* The ascetic Vidyēs'vara belonged to the Simha-Pariṣad. There was also another *parṣad* known as the S'akti-Parṣad to which belonged the *Mūvara-Kōṇeya-santati* of the *Parvatāmnāyas* mentioned in the inscriptions.[2] Names of some of the ascetics of the S'akti Parṣad are preserved in the inscriptions of the land. Sōmēs'vara-Pandita, a celebrated S'aiva divine of the Siṁha-Parṣad and a contemporary of the Western Calukya king, Trailōkyamalla-Āhava-malla (Sōmēs'vara I) is described as श्रीमल्लकुलेशमुखकमल विनिर्गत सकल शास्त्रार्थ सद्भावाभिज्ञरु [4]

A certain Bhīvarāsi Paṇḍita is styled as *Lākulāgama-samaya-samuddharaṇar* in another epigraph.[5] A Lakulēs'vara Paṇḍita,[6] mentioned in a lithic record at Belgaum, is described as follows :

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXIII, p. 161 f.
2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. V, pp. 218-22.
4. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part 1, No. 101. This inscription is dated the year 1045. A.D.
5. *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 253
6. *Mysore Inscriptions*, page 146, referred to in *Ep. Ind.* V p. 127.

समस्त तर्कादि शास्त्र पारावार पारगं, वादिरुद्रं, ... बौद्धाब्धिबडवामुखं, मीमांसक धात्रीधरवज्रं लोकायत महातरु विदारणक्रकचं, सांख्याहीन्द्ररुद्रवैनतेयं, अद्वैतवादि भूजकुठारं अकलंक त्रिपुर दहनत्रिनेत्रं वादि घरट्ट दिग्गजपट्टं माधवभट्ट घरट्टं ज्ञानानंदमदभंजनं विश्वानंद पलयाग्रानलं, अभयचंद्रकालानलं, वादिराजमुखमुद्रं, नयणंदि दिशापट्टं नैयायिकसंरक्षणैकदक्षंगमकमहेश्वरनु पन्यासामरापगाप्रवाहं वादिदिगंबरधूमकेतुवादि रुद्रगुण नामांकितप्पं श्रीमल्लकुलीश्वरपंडिताय"—

The Kālamukha teachings spread and *mathas* were established all over India. The pontiffs of this school were the *rājagurus* 'Spiritual preceptors' of the Eastern and Western Cālukya kings as well as of the kings of Ḍāhala or Cēdi, the Kākatīyas of Warangal, and Mālwa. Their influence was very beneficial to the people. They built *mathas* and *satras*, where education was freely imparted to the students who were also fed and clothed. They built temples and encouraged architects, sculptors and painters. They presided over *vidyā-maṇṭapas* or assemblages where tests of scholarship of savants in various branches of learning were held and rewards distributed for the learned and the successful. They built hospitals with *prasūti-ārōgya-śālas* 'maternity wards and nursing-homes [1] They influenced their royal disciples to make liberal grants of *agrahāras* to learned Brahmans, where provision was also made for the encouragement of artisans and various other craftsmen. The Gōḷaki-*maṭha* of the Kālamukhas were chiefly spread over Cēdi and Trilinga kingdoms during the tenth to thirteenth centuries. King Gaṇapati was the spiritual son of Viśvēśvara-Śambhu, by virtue of his being initiated by the latter. The Malkāpuram Pillar inscription gives interesting details of the Gōḷaki maṭha. The *Gōḷaki-sampradāya* is said to have been founded by one Sadbhāva-Śambhu of the Dūrvāsa-*gōtra*. His disciple was Sōma-Śambhu, the author of the celebrated *Sōma-Śambhu-paddhati*. The ascetics of this *maṭha* were *Naiṣṭhika-brahmacārins* who practised life-long celibacy and other austerities and followed the religious rules of the monastery which was known as the *Śuddha-Śaiva-maṭha*. The phrase *Śuddha-Śaiva* is capable of more than one interpretation. As opposed to the *Miśra-Śaiva* there is *Śuddha-Śaiva*. The attainment of the Siva-hood by worship of Śiva alone, without the medium of any other deity such as Śakti and Bhairava, is the chief feature of *Śuddha-Śaiva*. This kind of division is mentioned in the Vādhūla and other Āgamas. But the Gōḷaki-maṭha was not *Śuddha-Śaiva* in this sense. There is a *Śuddha-ādhva* or 'pure path' as opposed to *Kṛcchra-ādhva* or *Ahita-ādhva*, 'the difficult' or 'unfavourable path'. The difference between the two arose out of a divergence in the doctrine. According to the *Āgamas*, Īśvara creates the World by assuming a form, or a body of

1. The Malkāpuram Stone Pillar Inscription of Rudradēva: *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 147 ff.

Energy. This body is not perishable like the human body. It is a *śāktam vapuḥ*, 'body of Energy' a body made up of the five *mantras*, of Is'āna, Tat-puruṣa, Aghōra, Vāmadēva and Sadyōjāta. And with this Īs'vara does the *kṛtya-pañcaka* or the 'Five Acts'. Those Five Acts are *sṛṣṭhi*, (creation) *sthiti* (continuance), *saṁhāra* (destruction), *tirōdhāna* (removal or concealment) and *anugraha* (grace). According to the *S'uddha-S'aiva*, these five acts are directly accomplished by S'iva Himself. In the other *path* these are accomplished by Ananta and others.[1] *The Kāraṇāgama* says "शुद्धध्वनि शिवः कर्ता प्रोक्तोऽनन्तो हितेप्रभोः ।" Ananta and others are *Vidyēsvaras*, who are librated souls, who have attained the S'iva-hood. According to some, Lord Siva accomplishes the Creation with the help of *S'akti*, and without S'akti. He is not even capable of moving an atom. The *Mahimnastōtra* states :

शिवः शक्त्यायुक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुम् ।
नचेदेवं देवो भवति कुशलः स्पंदितुमपि ॥

There is a reference to this in *Kāśīkhanḍam* of the celebrated poet S'rīnātha of the fifteenth century.[1]

Another division of the fourfold S'aiva system is that of the *Mahāvratins*, who are also known as the *Kāpālikas*. The late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar opined that Mahāvratins were identical with the Kālamukhas.[1] But we may emphatically state that they were not identical with each other. The authorities cited above do not make a confusion between the two. The *Kāpālika-vrata* is the *Mahāvrata*. It will be interesting to know what the chief features of the *Mahāvrata* were. The *Mattavilāsaprahasana*, of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I of the seventh century A. D., ridicules the degenerated Kāpālika and Saugata systems. It has a fling at the followers of those faiths who had become corrupt and degraded. The chief characters in the *prahasana* are a *Kāpālika* and a *Bauddha-bhikṣu*. The following verse from the mouth of the *Kāpālika* is interesting and to the point in the present discussion.

"आस्थाय प्रयतो महाव्रतमिदं बालेन्दुचूडामणेः ।
स्वामी नो मुमुचे पितामहशिरश्छेदापराधेनसः ॥"

1 సీ॥ *కృత్యపంచకము సాగింపలేఁడే యింతి ప్రాపు లేక కృతాంతభంజనుఁడు,
నిండుఁజందురుని జంద్రికవోలె నే భామ పంచబాణవిరోధిఁ బాయకుండు,
*నేలేమ శశిమౌళి కిచ్ఛాక్రియాజ్ఞానశక్తియై కల్పించె సకలజగము,
నేగంధగజయాన హృదయ మువ్విళ్లూర్చి భవునిపైఁ జక్కసాబాలుఁగొనియె,
తే॥ *మహితహృల్లేఖికా మహామంత్రమునకు నేవరారోహ ముఖ్యాధిదైవతంబు,
సకల జగదధిష్ఠాత్రి శైలపుత్రి, [విభున కిట్లని మధురోక్తి విన్నవించె.]

Canto IV, verse 150.

"Our Lord, who has the crescent moon for his head-ornament having with great determination taken up this Great Vow (*Mahāvrata*), got rid of the sin of cutting off the head of Brahman." The words *Mahāvratam-idam* coming from the mouth of the Kāpālika himself leaves us in no doubt whatsoever as to the *Kāpālika-vrata* being the same as the *Mahāvrata.* Nanni-Cōḍa's *Kumārasambhavam,* a Telugu Poem, which is assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century, has the following interesting verse :

> Hari-kaṅkālamu-cēti-mudra, divijēndrāstul subhuṣāvaḷul,
> garaḷamb-abhyavahāram-antaka-tanu-kṣāraṁbu mai-pūta, Paṁ-
> karuhāsīnu-s'irah-kapālam-uru-bhikṣāpātra-gā Vis'vasaṁ-
> haru vartiñcu Mahāvrat-ōpahati-sēyam-būna nī prāptiyē!

In this context, the goddess Rati, addressing her lord, deplores her lord, Manmatha's thoughtless action in trying to cause impediment to the terrible S'iva who was engaged in the performance of the *Mahāvrata.* We have plentiful evidence from the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti of the habits, rites and ceremonials of the Kāpālikas. The two *Kāpālikas,* Aghōraghaṇṭa and Kapālakuṇḍalā, play an important role in the development of the plot. The conflict between the *right* and the *wrong* is forcefully brought out with the aid of these two characters who represent the *wrong.* The description of Kapālakuṇḍala at the beginning of the Act V and the scene at the temple of S'akti near the cremation ground in Act V throw much light on the *Kāpālika* system in the time of Bhavabhūti. The Kāpālikas wore matted hair, carried a staff with a bell and flag attached to it in one hand; in the other they held a skull for an alms bowl. Their habitat was the cremation ground. They worshipped S'akti in various forms and revelled in gruesome rites in her worship. They believed in the efficacy of the *mantras,* and practiced them for the attainment of the *siddhis* or superhuman powers, such as flying in the air etc., They resorted also to human sacrifices, and practiced *Laya-yōga* for the attainment of the highest Bliss. Īs'vara, according to them, is Śaktināthа, Lord of Energy; he is assisted by the various forms of Śakti, for without the help of Sakti, they hold that he cannot even move. Śiva is found by the *Sādhaka* (devotee) in the heart surrounded by the sixteen arteries. The Kāpalikas were greatly feared and shunned by the common people. They had their seat chiefly at S'rīs'aila; their monasteries were scattered all over the Deccan and South India.[1] It is beyond doubt that the *Kāpālika-Ṣaiva* system was strongly influenced by

1. A. R. No. 423 of 1914. It records a gift of 20 sheep to a *matha* of Mahāvratins at Pallimadam hamlet of Tiruchchuli, Aruppukottai taluk in Ramnad district. This is the only inscription available that mentions a *matha* of Mahāvratins.

the *S'ākta-Tantra*. The fearsome aspect of the last mentioned *Tantra* is also predominant in the *Kāpālika* system. It may be asserted that all the later *Māhēśvara* systems were influenced by the *S'ākta-Tantra*. The Kālamukhas appear also to have borrowed some features of that *Tantra*. From the descriptions given by Nanni-Cōḍa in his *Kumārasambhava* referred to above, it appears that the Kālamukhas worshipped *S'rīcakra*, and resorted to drinking '*surā*'. The following extract from *S'rībaṣya* also supports the above statement.

> "कालामुखा अपि कपाल पात्रभोजन शवभस्मस्नान तत्प्राशन
>
> लगुडधारण सुराकुंभस्थापन, तदाधार देवपूजादिक
>
> मैहिकामुष्मिक सकल फल साधन मभिदधति"—

The *S'aivas* and *Pāśupatas* seem to have followed the general S'aiva system of the *Āgamas*. But we cannot at the present moment, know the distinctions that are peculiar to them. The ancient authorities point out to the existence of four sub-divisions amongst the *Māhēśvaras*. But as time passed on, numerous sections, urged by distinctions and differences in the ritual and practice, came into existence. The *Āgamas* are of four kinds: (1) *S'aiva*, (2) *Pāśupata*, (3) *Sōma* and (4) *Lākula*. Of these, the *S'aivāgamas* gave rise again to the following sub-divisions: the *Vāma-S'aiva*, *Dakṣiṇa-S'aiva*, *Miśra-S'aiva* and *S'iddhānta S'aiva*. It is stated in the *Siddhānta-śikhamaṇi* of S'ivacārya-Yōgi that the followers of the *Vāma* system are Śakti worshippers, that the followers of the *Dakṣiṇa* system are the worshippers of Bhairava, that of the *Miśra* system are the worshippers of the Saptu-Matrikas 1. The followers of the *Siddhānta* system were however guided by the Vedas.

But according to the *Vīrāgama*, the *Vāma*, *Dakṣiṇa*, *Siddhānta Bhūta* and *Gāruḍa-tantras* are divisions of the *Somāgamas*. It is agreed on all hands that *Vāma* system belonged to the *S'akta-tantra*. In the *Dakṣiṇa-tantra*, Bhairava and Durgā come in for prime worship. In the Andhra country, the *Bhairava-tantra* seems to have been in vogue during the 13th and 14th centuries. 2 The *Vēmabhūpāla*

1. *Siddhantasikhamani* (Kāsi Vīras'aiva Vidvat-Saṃgha Publication in Telugu Characters, 1940) p. 27.

2 "టిట్టిభసెట్టిగారు వినుఁడీ యొక చొక్కపుజోగి రేయిరో
పట్టిడి దీనితోఁ గలసి భైరవతంత్రముదీర్చి మెచ్చి సౌ
ఘాట్టమునన్ లిఖించె నఖరాంకురభంగిఁ దనుంగుఁచద్వయమున్
బుట్టువుపేరనాగతము భోగము భాగ్యముఁ బ్రస్ఫుటంబుగన్".

Prabhakara Sastri's edition, p. 78—79.

charitam of Vāmanabhaṭṭa-Bāṇa, the poet-laureate of King Peda Kōmaṭi-Vēmareḍḍi of Koṇḍavīḍu (1400–1420 A.D.) gives the following details of the practice of *Bhairava-tantra*, during the worship of the goddess Vindhyavāsini :—

ततो धरणिपति चोदिता: शिबिरवासिन्या, सहमहायोगिभि रुपदंशमांसमेदुरेण मणिकलश संभृतेन मधुना देव्या विंध्यवनवासिन्या: कर्तु मुपचक्रमिरे, सर्वोपकरणसमग्रां पूजां। तदनु भैरवरसना कन्दलोल्लासकदंबिनीम् , कात्यायनीहृदयकैरव विकास कौमुदीं***रंकभंग मदलीलासखीम् योगि जन संविच्चक्षुरंजन वर्त्तिकां, सिद्धकुलाधिदेवताम् , उपरि तरल सरस सहकार पल्लवतया, स्वभजन प्रवणशाक्तजनाह्वानं हेतोरंगुलीमिवोदयन्तीम् , अंतर्गत गगनतलप्रतिबिंबतया भैरवतांत्रिक पापपटलमिवाधः पातयंतीम् **अनुक्षणस्फुटितै: फेनबिंदुभि: स्वयमपि दुर्गार्चनपुष्पाणीव विकिरंतीम्, अर्णव कफस्यामृतस्य निंदानिष्ठीवनमिवाचरतीम् अनवरतोल्लासिभि:बुद्बुदै: कात्यायनीभक्ति पुलकमिव कलयंतीम्, अश्रांत घूर्णना घोषै रपहायभक्तिं मयि दुर्मेधसा द्विज कुलेन स्वादिमहीन: सोम: सवनेषु स्वीक्रियत इति, रोषादट्टहासमिव रचयंतीम् *** अरण्यानीव अतिमुक्त सेवित मधुरमधुरां मदिरां निवेदया मासु: ॥

निवेद्य च निर्भरमधासिषु: सुधातिरिक्तरसां सुरां वनितापुर:सरं महायोगिन: ॥ निर्भर मास्वाद्य मधु माद्यतां महायोगिनां परस्परमेवालापा: प्रासरन् यथा "जयतु महादेवी। जयतु त्रिपुरादि कापालिक:। जयतु भैरव तन्त्रम् । जयतु पशुपाश समुच्छेदन शंकुला सारस्वत गंधचंदनलता गांधर्वज्योति रुत्तेजनमणि: सद्यो विवृतकारुणी भव भय हारिणी वारुणी। *** आदिमशक्तये पुराण साधक विकीर्णा: पूजा मधुबिंदव इति नभसि नक्षत्र बृंदान्यनुरागमिका: नारायणोऽपि अष्टमेनावतारेण भैरवतन्त्र प्रथमाचार्यो बभूव । स एक एव दंड्यो ब्रह्मपिशाच: य: श्रुति दुर्वच: पठनदुर्गाविभि: मुखै: वारुणी पायिनामापदे दोषमाचष्ट । अत एव तस्य दंड मकरुत देवो महाभैरव: "इत्यन्योन्य माभाष्य मधु पिबंतश्च वमंतश्च नदंतश्च, नृत्यंतश्च गायंतश्च, मदस्य परांकाष्ठां अवापुर्महा योगिन:"—1

From the above passage it is clear that according to the *Bhairava-tantra*, the offering of spiritual liquor and flesh to the deity formed the integral part of the worship of Durgā. The sparkling spiritous liquor is described in glowing terms. At the end of the worship the *Mahāyōgī* enjoys the offerings in the company of women without any let or hindrance and sings, 'Victory to Wine which brightens the intellect and helps to increase ecstasy; Victory to the great Durga !; Victory to the *first* Kapalika (Siva); and Victory to the *Bhairava-tantra*'. In that state of ecstasy the *Mahāyōgi* condemns even the god Brahman who put an interdict in the Vedas against the drinking of spiritous liquors. He claims that one of the four heads of Brahman was rightly cut off by the lord Siva for such an

1. Vēma-Bhupāla-charitam : Vani Vilas series no. 16, page 187 to 189.

offence. In his eighth incarnation God Narayana is said to be the first teacher of the *Bhairava-tantra.* The description of an actual congregation of *yōgis* who followed the *Bhairava-tantra* according to the description given by Vāmanabhaṭṭa-Bāṇa shows that the *Bhairava-tāntrikas* were *S'āktas* and freely used in their worship, women, wine and flesh.

I may also mention here that the *Svacchanda-tantra*, a well-known work by Kṣēmarāja, initiates into the worship of Aghōra, the right mouth of Svacchanda-Bhairava. It is a leading authority on *S'iva-dīkṣā* and details of the *upasana* (worship) and *kriya* (practice)

The *Bhūta* and *Gāruḍa Tantras* lay special emphasis on the attainment of such powers as the quelling of evil spirits and the curing of poisoning. The *Vātulāgama* gives a more comprehensive definition of *Miṣra-S'aiva*, than the one that is given in the *Vīrāgama.* It states that all those systems in which the worship of such deities as Sūrya, Gaṇapati and Kumāra is restored to, and through their medium, the S'iva-hood is attained, are called the *Miśra-S'aiva* systems.[1] The *Vātūlāgama* speaks also of the *Sāmānya-S'aiva*, *Vīra-S'aiva* and *S'uddha-śaiva.* From its definition, *Ṣāmānya-Saiva* cannot connote a separate system at all. Any body who has reverence towards S'iva-liṅga, who wears ashes, and who respects the devotees of S'iva is a *Sāmānya-Saiva.* A *S'uddha-śaiva* is one who mainly worships Śiva according to the precepts laid in *Kāmikāgama.* The *Vīraśaiva* seems to have been a distinct system. The *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* and the *Vīrāgama* state that it is superior to every other Śaiva system. They also give some fantastic philological explanation to the syllables *vī* and *ra* forming the word *vīra.* Apart from this, it seems to be a different system, because it adhered to the teachings of the *Veda* and *Vedanta.* It also teaches the identity of the individual soul (*jīvātma* ahd Īs'vara, though it is not the identity of the *Sarvādvaita.* In later days, the Vīras'iva system became popular and established itself firmly in the land. The further division of *Vīra-śaiva* into *Sāmānya*, *Vīśeṣa,* and *Nirābhāra* is mentioned in the *Vāūtlāgama.* But really these are not divisions based upon any differences in the doctrine. They represent only the different stages in the life of a *Vīra-śaiva* devotee. The *Nirābhāra* stage is similar to that of the *Sanyāsin* of the *Advaita* school.

The *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* mentions two other *Māhēśvara* systems, the *Pratyabhijña* and the *Rasēśvara.* The *Pratyybhijña* school was mainly developed by celebrated ascetics and learned men who hailed from Kashmir. Hence it acquired the name, the Kashmiri

1. *Vatulagama* p. 211, (Published in Telugu characters in Ellore, 1897).

School of Saivism. It is based on the *S'iva-Sūtras* revealed by S'iva Himself. Its greatest exponent was *Siddha* Somānandapāda, who was the author of a treatise known as *S'ivadṛṣṭi*. The *vṛtti* (running commentary) on the *Pratyabhijña sūtrās* by Utpala and the *Pratyabhijña-vimaraśanī-Laghu* and *Bṛhati* by Abhinavaguptācārya are the other leadings works on this system. Its chief purpose was to check the growth of the predominantly dualistic trends of thought in the S'aiva philosophy prevelent in teaching of the *Āgamās*. The exponents of the *Pratyabhijñavāda* proclaim that the self-luminous individual soul is hidden by *māya*, and a person who turns his attentions inwards will recognise that he is no other than the *Paramēśvara* Himself. It is not possible to deal with all the other characterstics of this faith in this paper, I shall take another opportunity.

The *Raśēśvara* system aims at preserving the body by making it perfect and permanent by the administration of *rasa* or 'mercury'. A person who attains the perfect body can live for thousands of years and attain *jīvan-mukti* or liberation during life by continued practice of the *Yōgā*. This school had celebrated adherents though they were few in number. It was mainly devoted to the Chemistry of Mercury. It is stated that the sage Agastya belonged to this school. The transmutation of base metals into gold was also their objective. And those perfect men who could do this lived at S'rīs'aila and other holy places.

JAINISM IN ANDHRADESA

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M. A., B. L.

The study of the History of Jainism in Andhradēśa in general is a fascinating subject; it has not been attempted so far. It is beyond doubt that Jainism held ground in Andhradēśa as a widely popular religion for at least twelve centuries or perhaps more. Its beginnings are however lost. The Jaina immigration into Andhrā is believed to have taken place according to tradition about the third or fourth century B. C; and Jainism as a distinct religion appears to have ceased to exist in Andhradēśa after the twelfth century A. D.

The present paper is an introduction to the vast unexplored subject. With the total disappearance of the Jaina faith and Jaina communities, monasteries, *vasatis* or temples and all the vestiges had perished. With that all the Jaina literature in the Telugu language and all religious works of the Jainas had also disappeared. Whether this disappearance was due to the persistent persecution by the people of other religions or the rulers of the land, or whether it was due to the slow and steady adoption or absorption of the best and noblest elements of Jainism into the Mono-theistic Brahmanism which had always strong leanings towards Mahēśvara worship, it cannot be said. The probability seems to be that the Jaina tenets were absorbed sometimes into the Śaiva cult or the worship of *liṅga*, as the emblem of Śiva or Mahēśvara, and sometimes into the Vaiṣṇava cult. So dominant and aggressive was the worship of Śiva in the form of phallic emblem in Andhradēśa that three *liṅgas*, became celebrated and renowned all over the land.[1] That seems to be the reason for the origin of the appellation Trailiṅgadēśa as a synonym for Andhradēśa. Andhrā became renowned and widely known as Trailingabhūmi, the 'Land of the Three *Liṅgas*', and the Andhras as Trailingas, or Telungas in a corrupt form. The reaction towards the Śiva worship and the phallic emblem became so dominant that Jainism, like Buddhism, lost its entire character and entity, and quickly disappeared. The Jaina religious tenets or *Siddhāntas* and Jaina monastic orders, became part of the *Śaiva-siddhāntas* and Saiva monastic orders like the Kālamukhas and Pāśupatas; and Sarvēśvara, the first *Gaṇadhara* of the Jainas, who is however very much

1. The three *lingas* are the Mallikārjuna-liṅga on Śrīśailam, the Bhīmēśvara-*linga* at Dakṣārama (modern Drākṣārama in Godavari district) and the Kālēṣvara-*linga* at Mahākālēśvaram near Manthena, at the confluence of the river Manneru with the Godavari in Mahādēvpur taluk, Karīmnagar district in the Nizams Dominions.

unlike Īśvara of Brahmanism became identical with Mahēśvara of the worshippers of Śiva, who looked to the Vedas and Vēdāṅgas for spiritual knowledge and guidance.

Sewell in his *Topographical Lists of the Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*, reports the existence of Jaina antiquities and remains in almost all the districts which form the Andhra area in British India. These antiquities and remains have not been, however, properly noted and examined by the Archæological Survey of India. Even known places like Rāmatīrtham near Vizianagaram in Vizagapatam district, Piṭhāpuram, Nēdunūru, Tāṭipāka, Kāzalūru, Āryavaṭam in East Godavari, Pālakollu, Bhīmavaram, Gaṇapavaram in West Godavari, Guḍivāḍa, Bezwada, Niḍamarru in Kistna, Palakalūru, Sattenapalli, Dharaṇikōṭa, Candavōlu, Dharmavaram, Addanki, Kandukūr and other places in Guntur, Nellore in Nellore district, Peḍḍamuḍiyam, Dānavulapāḍu, Nāyakallu, Yācavaram in Cuddapah and several places in Anantapur and Bellary districts have not been examined at all by the Archæological Survey. Apparently, the Department has not as much enthusiasm for the Jaina faith as they have for the Buddhism. The list given above is by no means exhaustive. It is my hope that one day a systematic and scientific survey of all the ancient villages and village sites (called *pāḍu*) would be undertaken by the Archæological Survey of India, which alone would bring to light the hidden material for the reconstruction of the religious history of Andhradēśa.

The term *pāḍu* in Telugu means to-day, 'a deserted village site'. But it seems to be the same as the Prakrit *pāḍa* which means 'a suburb'. It is, therefore, probable that *pāḍas* or *pāḍus* in Andhradēśa were originally suburbs of flourishing villages, which were Jaina monastic settlements and where very often the Jaina house-holders (*śrāvakas*) also lived. There are to-day numerous villages and deserted village-sites which have the name-ending '*pāḍu*'; and those must have been Jaina village suburbs originally. One frequently hears of the *Jaina-pāḍu* in several villages; and this indicates more than anything else that those *Jaina-pāḍus* were Jaina monastic settlements, with a few streets containing houses of pious lay followers of Jaina faith surrounding them, that flourished as suburbs by the side of large villages and towns, in ancient period. Penṭapāḍu a large flourishing village in West Godavari district, for example, seems to be a former Jaina settlement. It is called even to-day 'Bairāgula-Penṭapāḍu', which is at once reminiscent of its connection with the *yōgis* of Jaina monasteries in former times. [1]

1. Even to-day, there is a *matha* for *bairagis* in that village.

The earliest reference to Jainism in Andhradēśa, if Kalinga is also to be reckoned as an integral part of Andhrā as it is in fact to-day, is in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla.[1] The kingdom of Kalinga of the time of Emperor Khāravēla extended roughly from the banks of the Ganges in Magadha to the Godavari in the south, along the eastern seaboard of India. Khāravēla's capital was Kalinganagarī, which lay near the mouth of the Vamśadhāra and which was swallowed up by the sea some centuries back. The modern Kalingapatam in Chicacole taluk may, therefore, be reasonably assumed to be the relic of the once famous city of Kalinganagarī. From the Hathigumpha inscription it is evident that Jainism was in a prosperous condition in Kalinga during the second century B.C. Tradition attests to the fact stated in the Jaina literature that Varddhamāna Mahāvīra went to Kalinga where his father's friend was ruling [2] and preached Jainism there.[3] Evidently at a spot on the Kumārī Hill where the Wheel of Conquest (*supavata vijaya caka* : Skt. *Supravṛta vijaya-cakra*) had been well revolved, i.e. the religion of Jina had been preached, a symbolical grave called *Nisīdhī* or *Nisīdhā* in Jaina canonical terminology was erected, and from that spot of sacred associations, the *Jina-dharma* was preached in later times.[4]

King Khāravēla was a Jaina himself; he was called an *Aila*. His inscription opens with a salutation to the Arhats (*arihats*), literally those who conquered their internal enemies or Jinas and the Siddhas. The term *Aila* has been variously interpreted by our scholars, but none of them seems to be satisfactory. King Khāravēla is described as a 'layman devoted to the worship, who realised the nature of *jīva* (soul) and *dēha* (body).' These words relate to Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent.[5] Khāravēla, who is called an *Aila* must have been, therefore, a high spiritual personage. In the Jaina religious order an *Aila* is a *śrāvaka* of the eleventh degree of spiritual eminence, the tenth being known as *kṣullaka*. About the close of the twelfth year of Khāravēla's reign, Magadha was conquered and the King of Anga-Magadha was compelled to surrender the image

1. The inscription is engraved partly in front and partly on the roof of the Hathigumpha, an artificial cave on the southern face of the Udayagiri, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvanēśvar in the Purī district of Orissa. The inscription was edited by K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, p. 221 ff; and later jointly by R. D. Banerjee and K. P. Jayaswal in *Epigraphia India*, vol. XX, p. 71 ff.

2. *Haribahdrīya vṛtti*.

3. *JBORS.*, vol. XIII, p. 223.

4. It was usual to construct symbolical graves for departed saints in sacred spots or *tirthas* and preach the Jaina doctrines at that spot. Several such graves (Nisīdhī or Nisādhā) must have existed in Andhra and Kalinga in former times.

5. Stevenson; *Heart of Jainism*, Chap. VII.

of Kalinga-Jina, i.e. the Jina of Kalinga which was carried away roughly two centuries back by King Nanda, with all the treasures of the temple in which it was placed. Khāravēla built for the image of Kalinga-Jina a lofty and marvellous temple, evidently in his capital. It is believed that the Jina of Kalinga was S'ītalanātha,[1] who was born at Bhadalapura or Bhadrapura which has been identified with Bhadrāchalam on the Godavari in East Godavari district.[2]

In the thirteenth year of Khāravēla's reign an important event in the history of Jainism took place. The Jaina tradition asserts that in the reign of Candragupta-Maurya, a Jaina conference was held at Pāṭalīputra, after the twelve years' famine was over, for the recovery and restoration of the lost Jaina Sacred Texts, but that no agreement was reached and the conference therefore dispersed. During the reign of Khāravēla, which was roughly two centuries afterwards, the compilation was successfully carried out. Khāravēla's wide conquests and enormous political influence which extended from the borders of the Punjab on the north-west to the confines of Bengal on the east, and from the banks of the Cauveri on the south to the kingdom of Magadha on the north, made it possible for him to accomplish the great task of the compilation and restoration of the Jaina Sacred Texts. The compilation (*upādayati*) was the crowning act of glory of Khāravēla's reign. In the thirteenth year, Kharavela invited learned Jainas, presumably S'vētāṁbara monks, from all quarters of India to assemble in a conference (*samghayanam*) evidently on the Kumārī Hill, near the relic depositary of the Arhat, meaning perhaps Vardhamāna Mahāvīra himself. And there under the inspiration and patronage of that illustrious Jaina monarch, all the assembled Jaina learned men put together once more the scattered or lost Sacred Texts of the Jainas. To those assembled monks and preachers of the *Jina dharma*, King Khāravēla respectfully presented China silks and White robes, and treated them in a magnificent and royal fashion. On that occasion seven only out of the eleven *angas*[3] of the Jainas were recovered. The Kumārī Hill has not been identified.[4] And likewise the great religious enterprise of Khāravēla which was an act of emulation of Candragupta-Maurya and As'ōka was completely forgotten by the posterity. All traces of Jainism that once flourished in Kalinga are also completely forsaken, forgotten and lost. Rāmatīrtham the greatest Jaina centre of Kalinga prospered till the end of the eleventh century and thereafter ceased to thrive as such.

1. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XX. p. 85.
2. *Ind. Ant.* vol. II, p. 136.
3. Here the passage "………choyaṭhi Aṃga-satikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati"(L. 16) is a little confused and the interpretation too is confused. One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 angas were recovered after their loss.
4. Could Kumārī Hill be identical with Rāmatīrtham Hill ?

The Chinese Pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who sojourned some time in Andhrā during the latter part of the reign of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana in the seventh century speaks of the *Nigranthas* i. e. Jains and their two well-known sects, the Digambaras and S'vētāmbaras, that flourished in Andhradēs'a at that time. He refers to the *Nigranthas* in much the same indifferent way as he speaks of the Brāhmanas and worshippers in the Dēva temples. Though we do not obtain any information from his itinerary about the state of Jainism in the land we can at least conclude that Jainism was flourishing at that time and that there were numerous adherents of both the sects in the country. We have however, no materials to construct the history of Jainism in Andhradēs'a, during thefirst six centuries of the Christian era or before.

That Jainism flourished and had also powerful supporters in the realm during the Cālukya Epoch is clearly evidenced by four copper-plate grants of that period. Of them, one belongs to the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III (719–755 A. D.),[1] and the remaining three to the period of Ammarāja II (945–970 A. D.). It is interesting that while the reigning monarchs were invariably *parama-māhēśvaras,* (devout worshippers of Mahēs'vara-S'iva), sometimes members of the royal family, high officials of state, vassal kings and feudal lords happened to be followers of the Jaina faith and were in the language of the Jainas, either *S'rāvakis* or *S'rāvakas*, i. e. lay female and male followers of the *Jina-dharma.*

The Musinikuṇḍa grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III is the earliest record which speaks of the prosperous state of Jainism in Andhradēs'a.[2] It refers to the venerable community of the Surasta Gaṇa or Kavurūri Gaṇa of the Saṁgha-Anvaya which had apparently its seat at Bezwada, and to the Monk, the venerable Kālībhadracārya who had another name Dēvanandin. The record further mentions the lineage of the pontiff, which goes into roughly eight generations. The inscription records the grant of the village of Musinikuṇḍa in Tōṅka-Natavāḍi-*viṣaya* to the venerable Kālībhadrācārya for the benefit of the Jaina temple, Naḍumbi-vasati at Bezwada, presumbly built by Ayyaṇa-mahādēvī, queen of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana (624-641 A. D.), for the purpose of performing uninterrupted *pūja* (worship) of the venerable *arhats.* Kālībhadrācārya appears to be the pontiff of the Kavurūri Gaṇa. He was the disciple's disciple of Rāvinandi Ācārya alias Kamalabhadrācārya. Among his spiritual ancestors, Candraprabhācārya, then his

1. This period is in accordance with my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Calukyas.* See *J. H. R. S.* Vol. IX, Part IV.

2. *C. P.* No. 16 of 1916—17. The grant is still unpublished. I am deeply indebted to the Govt. Epigraphist for India and the Director-General of Archæology in India for their kindness in granting me permission to consult this important record

pupil's pupil Ravicandrācārya and then his disciple's disciple Rāvinandin are mentioned. Kālibhadrācārya is spoken of as having made the entire circle of kings obedient to him by the power of his spiritual knowledge, *Aṣṭāṅga-divya-jñāna*, the exact meaning or significance of which is not clear. Perhaps, it means that *Ācārya* Kālibhadra knew by heart eight out of the twelve *Aṅgas* of the Jainas. From the meagre information that is now available it is not possible to say whether these Jaina pontiffs were Digambaras or S'vētāmbaras. It is, however, clear that Jainism had taken deep roots in Andhradēs'a even before the establishment of the Cāḷukya sovereignty. The terms *ācārya* and *arhat* that occur in this connection require some explanation. *Arhats* are those divines who seek their own *mukti* or emancipation of their souls: they carry a *piñchha* or a bundle of peacock tail feathers as an ornament or banner denoting their religious dignity.[1] *Ācārya* is a *sādhu* or *muni* who has acquired the right not only of reading the Sacred Text (*Mūla*) but also of explaining it in an authoritative manner. An *ācārya*[2] who has risen to be the head of his Gaccha is called *Sūri*. It is not known if the Saṁgha-Anvaya mentioned above was the same as the Mūla Saṁgha, which had its commencement from the year 683 after the *Nirvāna* of the glorious Mahāvīra,[3] which would fall about 156 A. D. In the Jaina monastic terminology the words *anvaya kula*, *santāna* and *āmnāya*, are synonymous, and mean 'generations,' These terms seem to be peculiar, sometimes to certain localities and Gacchas. It appears that while the terms *kulakrama* or *kula*, *santāna* and *āmnaya* are popular in the Western India, Ṙajaputana and Karṇāṭadēs'a, the appellation *āmnāya* seems to be peculiar to Andhradēs'a. In the same manner the terms *Gaṇa* and *Gaccha* are said to be synonymous; accordingly it happened frequently that one and the same community had two names as in the Musinikuṇḍa grant. The Surasta Gaṇa was also known as Kavurūri Gaṇa,

It is not known how many *anvayas* or lines of Jaina monastic orders and Gacchas, of which it is said they were 84 in number, existed in Andhradēs'a in the early times. It is also not known whether both the Digambaras and S'vētāmbara sects flourished side by side at that period. For the present we have no materials at our disposal to pursue the study further. But it is fairly certain that the Digambaras were by far the more popular sect in Andhradēs'a as elsewhere as may be gathered from the inscriptions that have so far come to light. But the Digambaras of Andhradēs'a, like those of Mahārāṣṭra and Gujerat, probably were Digambaras outwardly but in reality followed the observances of the Śvētāmbaras.

1. *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 273, n.1; and *Ind. Ant.* XVIII, p. 313, n. 18,
2. *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 234.
4. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 350.

For two centuries roughly afterwards, there is no evidence of the existence of Jainism in Andhradeśa. But on that account it cannot be presumed that Jainism did not exist in the land. For the present evidence is lacking. There are three records of the time Ammarāja II which speak of Jainism as a very popular religion in the tenth century. It appears further that while the king was a devout worshipper of Maheśvara-Śiva, he was compelled, not perhaps without some sort of compunction, to extend his patronage to Jainism on account of the peculiar environment he was in and the circumstances that prevailed then.

The Kalucumbaṟṟu grant[1] is more interesting than the rest, for it gives new names in the Jaina monastic order which are not known from any other source. It registers the grant of a village named Kalucumbaṟṟu in the Attili-nāṇḍu-*viṣaya* (province) to a Jaina teacher named Arhanandin, belonging to the Valahari Gaṇa and Aḍḍakali Gaccha, for the purpose of providing for repairs to the *satrālaya* or charitable dining-hall of the Jaina temple 'Saravalōkāśraya Jinabhavana.'[2] The grant was made by Ammarāja II; but it was caused to be given the lady Cāmekāmbā, of the Paṭṭavardhika lineage. She was presumbly the favourite courtezan (*gaṇikā*) of the king, and a lay pupil (*śrāvaki*) of the Jaina teacher, *Ācārya* Arhanandin. King Ammarāja II yielded apparently to the persuasion of his beautiful favourite mistress, who is referred to as 'a *śrāvakī* who delights in the teachings of learned people.' Arhanandin's preceptor was Ayyapōti-Muni, who was "virtuous, and masterful, and possessed of unmeasured fame and was very intelligent"; his preceptor was the saint Sakala-Candrasiddhānta-Muni, "who possessed of virtues which were very manifest, and who was thoroughly well versed in the *Siddhānta*", i.e. the *Jaina Siddhānta* writings. The ascetics of the Valahari Gaṇa of the Aḍḍakali Gaccha, it is said, were renowned for their charitable disposition, "as their desires were always bent on granting excellent food to the Jaina ascetics (*śramaṇas*) of the *four* castes."[3] This clearly shows that rigid caste such as such existed in Jainism, both outside and inside the monastic orders as it did in Brahmanism.

On another occasion Ammarāja II, having been requested by his vassal chief Durgarāja, who was the great grand-son of Paṇḍaraṅga and the *rāja-viṣay-ādhyakṣa*, 'Governor of the province' of Kammarāṣṭra, granted the hamlet of Maliyampūṇḍi to the Jaina temple (*Jinālaya*) called 'Kāṭakabhᵉraṇa-Jinālaya' which lay in

1. *Ep. Ind.* VII, pp. 177 ff.
2. *Loc, cit.* text lines 50-61.
3. अड्डकलिगच्छनामा वलहारिगण प्रतीत विख्यात यशाः ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यश्रमणविशेषान्नश्राणनाभिलषितमनस्कः ॥

the south of Dharmapuri. The place is the same as Dharamavaram in the Ongole taluk, Guntur district. Durgaraja, it will be remembered, was the *Kaṭakādhīśā*, *Kaṭakarāja*, or the governor of the *Kaṭaka*, the king's capital and the *ājñapti* (executor) of the Kalucumbaṟṟu grant. The Kaṭakābharaṇa-Jinālaya was apparently named after the chieftain Durgarāja who bore the epithet *Kāṭakābharaṇa*, and was placed in charge of the pontiff of the Yāpanīya Saṁgha for whose benefit apparently the temple was built by Durgarāja. The lineage of the pontiff is stated as follows: There was the lord of ascetics, Jinanandin, "who resembled the *Gaṇadharas*, of the Punnāga-vṛkṣa Mūla Gaṇa, of the pure and worthy Nandi Gaccha and who was the chief lord of the Kōṭimaḍuva Gaṇa, which is worshipped by the Yāpanīya Saṁgha." His first disciple was Divākara-Muni, who was the store house of wisdom like the Kēvalins, and highly virtous, and resembled the former Jinas. He was the abode of penance and his disciple was S'rīmāṇḍiradēva-Muni, who was the possessed the *pratihārya-mahimā*, the 'power of working miracles'. and 'who was praised by all the learned people of the world'.

The disciples of Mahāvīra were called Gaṇadharas; they were eleven in number according to the historical records of the Jainas.[1] The saint Divākara-Muni is referred to as *Kēvala-jñāna-nidhiḥ* which seems to be a technical expression. For, according to the Jaina tradition there were three *Kēvalins*, Sudharman who died before his master, Gautama who survived his master for a month and Jambusvāmin, the pupil of Sudharman. These three Kevalins were among the eleven Gaṇadharas but on account of their superior knowledge they became marked out as the three *Kēvalins.* And Divākara is apparently compared to those Kēvalins.

The Nandi Gaccha is said to be a branch of the Mūla Saṁgha, which is the original community that was founded by Mahāvīra himself.[2] Nandi Gaccha is also known by the appellation Sarasvatī Gaccha; it is also known as Kundakunda-Anvaya. The appelation seems to have been acquired from the celebrated fifth pontiff Kundakunda.[3] That saint, strangely enough, is claimed to be an Andhrā, Kannaḍiga and a Tamil successively by all of them. Whatever might be his origin and nationality, Kundakunda was celebrated as a great Jaina saint. The *anvaya* to which he belonged took the name after him as Kundakund-ānvaya. Kundakunda had four other names, Padmanandi, Vakragrīva, Gṛddhapiccha and Ēlācārya. The founder of the Kundakunda-anvaya was a certain Māghanandin, one of the four disciples of Gupti-gupta, each of whom

1. *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 246.
2. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 343.
3. *Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 342-3.

founded a seperate Gaccha.[1] From Māghanandin derived the two names, namely, Nandi Saṁgha and Nandi Āmnāya. A fourth name, of the Nandi Gaccha is Balātkāra Gaṇa. How this name was acquired it cannot be known. The Gaccha has also a fifth name, Pārijāta Gaccha. The Punnāga-vṛkṣa Mūla Gaṇa of the Nandi Saṁgha or Nandi Gaccha of the Yāpanīyas flourished in Karṇāṭadēśa, about the same time as in Andhradēśa or probably a little earlier. Comparitively little is known hitherto about the Yāpanīyas. In the *Bhadrabāhucarita*, we are told that king Bhūpala of Karahāṭa,[2] at the request his wife Nṛkuladēvā, invited the S'vētāmbara monks of Valabhī to come to his city. "But beholding them dressed in white garments, he turned away in disgust from them, and did not receive them before they had yielded to the queen's entreaties to cast off their clothes." This was the origin of the Yāpanīya Saṁgha, the members of which "had the appearance of Digambaras, but the observances of S'vētāmbaras"[3] A similar account is given in the *Pañcamārgōtpatti*, a work in Tamil mixed with Sanskrit, propounding the origin of the five unorthodox Jaina sects. According to that, it is stated that "out of them (the Svētāmbaras) proceeded a class termed Yavaniya who were unclothed ascetics: They taught some opposite tenets, relative to prescribed fasts, and to prohibited periods of journeying."[4] In a *paṭṭāvali* of the Digambaras, published by Dr. Hoernle,[5] it is stated on the authority of *Nītisāra*, that the Yāpanīya-Saṁgha was one of the five false Jaina sects, and though no details are given, the passage is of some interest as probably containing a second name of the sect, the Yāpuli Gaccha or Yāpuliyas. Dr. Hult zsch observes that the Yāpanīyas existed from about the fifth to the twelfth century, in the Southern Mahārāṣṭra and Karṇāṭa-dēs'a[6] So far as Andhradēśa is concerned the Maliyaṁpūṇḍi grant is the only record that is so far known, which refers to the existence of this sect, in the tenth century.

In the Masulipatam plates of Ammaraja the II[7] mention is made of a Jaina Pontiff (*ācārya*), preceptor of the two noblemen, Bhīma and Naravāhana II. It appears from that inscription that the father and grandfather of the chieftains were loyal servants of both King Cāḷukya-Bhīma II and his elder brother Amma I, and that Cāḷukya Bhīma II received considerable support from them in his task of regaining the throne from Yuddhamalla. Bhīma and Naravāhana II obtained through the favour of King Cāḷukya-Bhīma II

1. *Ibid.*
2. Karahāṭā or modern Karāḍ lies on the Satāra district, Bombay Presidency.
3. *Ep. Ind.* IV, p 338-9.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ind. Ant.* XXI, p. 67 ff. Paragraphs 16 and 17.
6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV p. 339.
7. *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, p. 268 ff.

the insignia of feudal chietainship. They were devoted to *Jina-ḍharma*,[1] like their parents and ancestors. Their preceptor was the renowned Jayasēna, who was also known as Nāthasēnā, and was himself the disciple of Candrasēna. Jayasēna was a master of all the Sastras; he was thoroughly well versed in the *Siddhānta* or *Jaina-siddhānta* He acquired the reputation of being proficient in *Parasamaya*, that is to say, he reached that spiritual stage whereat his soul became absorbed in non-self for the liberation of all mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrāvakaṣ*, *kṣapaṇakas*, *kṣullakas*, and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the Jaina pontiff, the venerable Jayasēna-Nathasēna the two noblemen requested Ammarāja II to grant a village for the purpose of constructing two *Jina-bhavanas* at Bezwada, and the King accordingly granted the village of Peda-Gāḷeḍiparṟu in the Velanāṇḍu-*viṣaya*, (modern Peda-Gādelavarṟu in Tenāli taluk), having exempted it from all kinds of burdens of taxation.

The *śrāvakas*, *kṣapaṇakas*, *kṣullakas* and *ajjakas* mentioned in the inscription seem to be names of the various orders of the Jainas. The *śravakas* are lay worshippers and correspond to the *upāsakas* of the Buddhist order. The *kṣapaṇakas* are Jaina *yatis* who received the proper initiation according to the school of the Digambaras. A Jaina *kṣullaka* is a *śravaka* of a high order belonging to the tenth degree and seems to correspond to the *dāsa* of the *Bhāgavata-sampradāya*. *Ajjikas* were probably female ascetics or nuns who, according to the Jaina doctrines, wore only a white sāri. The epithet *Parasamaya-paṭuh* that is given to Jayasēna is a highly technical expression and belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakundācārya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the *Parusamaya* and *Sva samaya* as follows:

जीवश्चारित्रदर्शनज्ञानस्थितस्तं हि स्वसमयंजानीहि ।
पुद्गलकर्मोपदेशस्थितं च जानी हि परसमयम् ॥

"Know that *sva samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *Para samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the Karmic matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the non-self."[2]

1. *Ibid.* Text line 48.

Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao refutes my conjecture that these chiefs might be Sudras and states that because they are said to be born in the Trinayana-kula, they might be S'aivas. I had not the opportunity of contradicting him then though the statement is manifestly untenable. The chieftains claimed to be Jainas, in unequivocal terms. Their Grevya-*gotra* and Trinayana-*kula* seem to indicate a Jaina *gotra* and Jaina lineage and not the sort of thing that is suggested by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao in Note 2 on the page 272 (*Loc. cit.*)

2. *Ep. Ind.* XXIV p. 272.

A very interesting feature about this charter is that, while it is a grant to the Jaina religion and while the king is a devotee of Śiva, it begins with a prayer to Lord Viṣṇu, the wielder of the *Cakra.* A severe warning to protect the charity is given to the people by the king, who is described as a terror to his enemies, (line 63). Ammarāja II, like his ancestors, was a *Paramamāhēśvara;* in many of his grants occurs the passage "अयुगलोचनपद्कमलविलसन्मधुपायमानः * परममाहेश्वरः"[1] which describes his faith.

For another century roughly thereafter we do not hear of Jainism again. We learn from an inscription at Rāmatīrtham that Jainism continued to flourish till the beginning of the eleventh century and that Rāmatīrtham was considered to be a place of pilgrimage by the Jainas from the very early times. That is clearly evidenced by the existence of some Jaina names of an earlier period written in red paint on the ceiling of the *Pāṇḍava-pañca'* [2], and from another inscription which is engraved upon a pedestal of a broken Jaina image,[3] found on the Gurubhatakoṇḍa hill. It records that the image was set up by a certain Jaina *śrāvaka*, Prammi-seṭṭi, of Candavōlu in the Omgerumārgga, i.e. the modern Repalli taluk, Guntur district. But more interesting than this record is the other which comes from the same place.[4] It states that the saint Trikālayōgi-Siddhāntadēva-Muni, the presiding *ācārya* or head of the Dēśi Gaṇa and the spiritual teacher *(guru)* of the reigning king, Vimalāditya (1011–1022 A. D.), came on pilgrimage to Rāmatīrtham and paid respects to Rāmakoṇḍa, i. e. the Ramatirtham-Hill. Vimalāditya is referred to by his titles also as *Rājamārtāṇḍa* and *Mummaḍi-Bhīma.* The inscription is written in Kanarese language. Its existence at Rāmatīrtham suggests that the Jaina teacher *Ācārya* Trikālayōgi-Siddhāntadēva was a Kannaḍiga by birth and that he apparently visited Andhradēśa and converted Vimalāditya to Jainism, who was a *Parama māhēśvara* till about the middle of 1019, A. D.[5]

With the decline and disappearance of the Eastern Cāḷukya sovereignty in Andhradēśa, about the dawn of the twelfth century, Jainism lost its hold completly in the land. It may be asserted also that with the reign of Rājarāja-Narēndra, the son and successor of Vimalāditya, Jainism completely lost its royal patronage and perhaps

1. See the Taṇḍikoṇḍa, (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p.161 ff.) and Elavarru (*Ind. Ant.* XII p. 15) grants.

2. The term 'pañca' means in Telugu 'a verandah under a terrace' and in the context by implication, "an artificial cave."

3. *A. R.* 832 of 1917.

4. *A. R.* 831 of 1917: *A. R. S. E*, 1917 133-4.

5. This is the date of Vimalāditya's Raṇastipūṇdi grant. (*Ep.* [illegible] p. 348 ff.)

even toleration. That illustrious monarch commanded Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, the greatest poet of the age and the noblest exponent of the Vedic Culture and the Purāṇas, to write the *Andhra-Mahābhārata* in the Telugu language. That work was evidently conceived and commanded to revive Brahamanism and to restore the worship of Mahēśvara-Śiva in the land, and thus spread the Brahmanical ideals of conduct, devotion and traditions. With the emergence of the Brahmanical version of the *Andhra-Mahābhārata*, a gigantic impetus was given for the spread of Brahmanical traditions and ideals and once more to restore Andhradēśa to the renown of Trailinga-dēśa, 'the Land of the Three *Lingas*,' With it also disappeared in a miraculous manner all Telugu literature of the Jainas of the earlier period. It is perhaps in this sense that we have to intepret the tradition that Nanniya Bhaṭṭa destroyed the *Andhra-Mahābhārata* of Atharvaṇācārya, a Jaina poet of doubtful contemporaneity, by getting it thrown into the river Godavari.

ERRATA

Page 191 line 19 *Read* 'to be given by the' *for* 'to be given the'

REVIEWS

THE ORIGINS OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

BY BISHESHWAR PRASAD, D. Litt. Allahabad University. Kitabistan, Allahabad 1941. *Price Rs. 7—8—0.*

The story of the relations between the central government in British India and the several provincial governments has been narrated by several historians. It passed through a number of stages leading first to what may be called administrative decentralisation and next to autonomy of the Provinces. But this process began only about 1870. British rule however had been in existence in India for at least one hundred and twenty years before this date. And during this long period the system of provincial administration did not remain unchanged. Till the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 there was no central government at all. The three Presidencies of Fort. St. George, Bombay and Fort William remained directly under the control of the Board of Directors in England. A central authority consisting of the Governor-General of Bengal and his council was created under the Regulating Act. Its powers over provincial governments were nominal in the beginning. They were gradually increased by successive acts of Parliament until they reached a climax under the Charter Act of 1833. It is from this date that Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad begins his narrative. He describes at great length and with a wealth of detail the nature and effects of over-centralisation as it was put into operation from 1834. The Provinces lost their individuality. They were deprived of all powers of legislation and in matters administrative and financial they became completely dependent on the centre. All this threw a heavy burden on the central authorities and created much resentment in the provinces. The strain was most acute in the field of finance.

The first step in decentralisation was taken by Lord Mayo's government in 1870. Dr. Prasad has given us a critical account of Mayo's Scheme and the modifications which it underwent during the next seventeen years. There was however a setback to this movement after 1887; and during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon centralization was carried to extremes. He made a fetish of efficiency though there was not much to indicate that the central government was capable of achieving better administrative results than the provincial gevernments. The top-heavy system attracted the attention of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India and he appointed the Royal Commission on De-centralisation which reported in 1909. It was also the time when a larger non-official element was introduced into Provincial Legislatures. In consequence of a combination of events like these decentralisation extended many steps further in the years

after 1909. All the details connected with the progress of this movement have been brought together and carefully analysed by the learned author. His comments are based on substantial evidence and his conclusions are sound and well-balanced.

One special feature of the book is that a fairly large amount of space is devoted to de-centralisation in legislative and administrative spheres. So far as financial de-centralisation is concerned it may be stated that many other authors have treated it exhaustively and there is not much that is new which any writer can state. But the other spheres are still unexplored and the first attempts at exploring them have been made and made successfully by Dr. Prasad. It would have been better if he had been able to deal more elaborately with these matters.

As one studies the book one will be struck by two or three features in the history of de-centralisation. One is that the move in favour of autonomy came originally from the provincial governments and the members of the civil service. They were even more active than non-officials. A second feature is the difficulty that has been experienced throughout in drawing a clear line of distinction between principles and details in the several administrative fields. In some cases even petty matters of details have been raised to the status of a principle and made the basis of central intervention. A third feature is the recognition by authorities in India as well as in England that without establishing popular legislatures in the provinces autonomy of a real character could not be thought of. It was always pointed out that autonomy could be conferred only on governments which became responsible to elected legislatures. Otherwise there was a danger that provincial governors would become autocratic. There was thus a close connection between the growth of self-government in the country and progress towards decentralisation and this connection is clearly traced by Dr. Prasad. It was only in 1919 that autonomy as distinguished from De-centralisation became a possibility because it was only under the Act of that year—based as it was on the famous declaration of August 1917 made during the critical days of the last World War—that some power was really transferred to people's elected representatives.

One of the short comings of the book is that the author has not made a fuller use of the non-official literature on the subject. It is true that he has drawn a great deal from the writings and speeches of Gokhale, Wacha and several other Indian leaders. But more space should have been given to the nature of the influence exercised by public opinion on the movement towards autonomy. Newspapers, journals, proceedings and discussions of political organisations like the National Congress and speeches of eminent Indians constitute a vast

field that deserve to be investigated into. The author has however preferred to walk through the beaten track. Barring this defect it may be asserted that the book is an illuminating study of an important aspect of Indian constitutional history and deserves to occupy an important place among the books dealing with this subject.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS.

By DR. P. SARAN, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Department of History, Benares Hindu University, Kitabistan, Allahabad 1941. *Price Rs.* ?.

The pioneer work begun by Sir Jadunath Sirkar in the field of Mughal history is bearing rich fruit. Many books of great value have appeared in recent years on that subject, some supporting and elaborating his ideas and others examining them in a critical spirit Researches also are being made into the periods and aspects of Mughal history to which he did not pay much attention. Among such research works Dr. Saran's THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS deserves to occupy a high and important place. It is a substantial and weighty contribution to our knowledge of the machinery of provincial and local government under Akbar, Jahangir and Shajahan, based on an exhaustive study and analysis of all the available material and rich as a storehouse of valuable information on one branch of Mughal administration. The volume contains not only a descriptive account of the machinery of local government but also an estimate of the results produced by its actual working and the spirit which animated the great Mughal Emperors and their official representatives in promoting the general welfare of their subjects.

It is neither easy nor desirable to summarise the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Saran. His book is a complete survey of all questions relating to the system of provincial government of the Mughals. He deals with the nature of political and administrative areas of the empire, the distinction between regions directly ruled by the Mughals and those that continued to be under the government of tributary chieftains, the division of the provinces into *Sircars* and *Paragannahs*, the different ranks of officials in charge of the various administrative divisions, the functions discharged by each one of these officials, the organisation of courts and the nature of civil and criminal law that was administered in them, the system of provincial finance and the extent to which education, famine relief, public works and other objects of public welfare were promoted.

Dr. Saran is at his best in criticising the views of other writers on the subject. As a controversialist he has few equals, though one cannot always be sure whether he has scored as much success against his opponents as he seems to think. Attention may be drawn in this connection to his attack on Dr. Qanungo's views on the *Sircars* in the days of Sher Shah, on Moreland's interpretation of Sir Thomas Roe's list of the "Kingdoms and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll", and on the views of Sirkar and several other writers on the subjects of courts and their organisation. One may or may not agree with all his conclusions but one has to give credit to the ability with which he has argued his case. It is however to be regretted that in his enthusiasm in criticising others he

himself has fallen into a number of inconsistencies and in some cases he has arrived at conclusions for which the data are not adequate. On the question of the extent to which Sher Shah was an innovator or the debt which Akbar owed to him his views are not quite consistent with each other. In his estimate also of the actual results achieved, he is carried away more by general impressions than by the evidence available. A knowledge of the judicial machinery and a certain number of allusions to the ideals of justice entertained by emperors cannot constitute a basis for the conclusion that the Mughals attained no mean success in providing protection and justice to the people. "Mean" is a treacherous word. When there are no records giving us the number of cases of appeal, the kind of judgments delivered, and the cost or the time involved in getting justice no objective conclusion is possible in a matter like this. A serious defect with Dr. Saran is the temptation to which he succumbs in this matter of drawing inferences even when the data are absent or meagre. His observation that "this much is *certain*, that side by side with the official post, private post (dak) was also carried with *equal* facility, regularity and speed", is an instance of this. Though he says that there are scarcely *any* records to give us detailed information about the schools and seminaries run by the State (p. 405) he presumes the existence of schools and seminaries *throughout* the country (p. 406) and agrees with H G. Wells that Akbar set up *a* number of Moslem and Hindu Schools and that he knew less and did more for India in these (educational) matters than the British who succeeded him. The attention paid by Mughal rulers to the construction of tanks is based not on any records of what they actually did but on what the ancient Hindu rulers accomplished and what private enterprise achieved in more recent times (Note on p. 411–13 and p. 415). Manriquie's very lucid and full account of the conditions of the life of prisoners (p. 393–4) creates the impression not that they were satisfactory but that more depended on influence than on rules and regulations. A glaring instance of drawing conclusions from insufficient data is the glowing description of the work of Village Communities in Mughal India based not on contemporary records but on what existed in the Chola Empire as described in inscriptions and on what Malcolm, Munro, Metcalfe and Sleeman wrote in the 19th century. The authorities quoted are John Matthai's *Village Government* in British India and Prof. K. A. Nilakantan's *Studies in Chola History and Administration*. There is no warrant whatever for remarks like "blind faith in a dead *ritualistic religion* as taught by the selfish and hypocritical brahmins" on page 28. There are many other remarks of this sort indicating that Dr. Saran is not free from prejudices.

Inspite however of certain hasty judgments like these, Dr. Saran's book possesses outstanding merits and is a model of critical research.

Andhra University,
GUNTUR.

M. VENKATARANGAIYA.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL MEETINGS
held during the year 1939-40.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 18—5—1939.

Members present:—

1. Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur,
2. Sri R. Subbarao, (in the chair)
3. Sri M. Sambasivarao
4. Sri M. Anna Reddi
5. Sri B. V. Krishnarao.

Resolutions:—

2. Read Letter of resignation of the Presidentship of the Society, from K. N. Ananta Raman Esq., M.A.,I.C.S

Mr. Ananta Raman's resignation of the Presidentship of the Society is accepted with great regret. The Managing Council places on record its deep debt of gratitude for his immense services in the cause of the Society.

The Secretary is authorised to communicate the Resolution to K. N. Ananta Raman Esq. M.A., I.C.S., Sub Collector, Parvatipur.

3. Resolved to purchase ten reams of printing paper for the Journal of the Society and to print the remaining parts of Volume XII.

4. Resolved to continue the printing of the Journal in the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry.

5. Resolved to sanction payment of a sum of Rs. 75 only as advance to the R. E. Press for printing the remaining parts on the day when the work is commenced with *new types.* The printer is requested to send proofs in new type on or before the 15th June 1939.

7. The accounts are checked and passed up to date.

8. R[illegible] to get blocks in zinc for the Bucciroddipalem plates of the Pallava king Simhavarman II, to accompany the article on them written by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma.

10. The following list of photographs for inclusion in the *REDDI SANCHIKA* is approved.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS.

1. Pattisam Temple and Hill
2. Nandiswaram Temple and Hill
3. Srisailam ; steps leading to the Patala-Ganga.

4. View of the Patala-Ganga
5. '*Virasiro Mandapam*' at Srisailam (near Nandi Mandapam)
6. General view of Srisaila temple
7. Amareswara Temple at Amaravati
8. Markandeya temple at Rajahmundry
9. General view of Korukonda Hill and Temple
10. Korukonda temple friezes on the outer walls
11. Korukonda Temple- statues of Singa & Mummadi Nayaka and Lakshmi-dasi Kunapa and his son
12. Tiruchuttumala (vajrampurakota) of the Daksharama temple
13. Kalyana-mandapa at Daksharama temple
14. The eastern mandapa - suryadvara - at Daksharama
15. Mulaguramma's temple at Aminabad
16. Bronze Bells, at Daksharama
17. Kondapalli Fort (at least two views)
18. Ahobilam and steps to the temple
19. Kondavidu Fort. Outer walls and bastions at least four views.
20. Statues in the niches near the simhadvara at the shrine of Ramisvara at Palakolanu (Palkol)

10-b These blocks may be made of zinc.

11. Resolved that Mr. M. Anna Reddy and any other member whom he wants to accompany him, are requested to proceed to Hyderabad-Deccan etc. for the collection of funds for the *Reddi Sanchika* publication.

12. The following gentlemen are appointed to the *Library Committee* for the year 1939–40.

Mr. M. A. Reddy
Mr. R. Subba Rao
Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao.

13. The following gentlemen are elected as *Delegates* to the Tenth Session of the Oriental Conference which will be held in December at Hyderabad-Deccan.

Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao, M.A.,B.L.
„ R. Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T.
„ V. Appa Rao, B.A.,B.L.
„ M. Somasekhara Sarma.
„ M. Sambasiva Rao.
„ M. Anna Reddy, M.A.,LL.B.
„ V. S. Ramachandramurti, M.A.,B.Ed.
Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A.,Ph.D.,LT.
Mr. C. Sanyasi Raju.

The Honorary Secretary is requested to communicate the above resolution to the *Local Secretary*, The Tenth Oriental Conference, Osmania University, Lallaguda, Hyderabad-Deccan.

14. Resolved to sanction Rs. 20 (Twenty) only towards travelling expenses etc. to and from Madras for Mr. V. Appa Rao,

Editor Reddi Sanchika. The sum may be paid to him as soon as he wants it.

15. Resolved to sanction of Rs. 25 towards scriptural charges for copying inscriptions and Kaifiyats from the *Local Records* in the University Library, Madras University.

16. Perused and checked the Bill for printing dated 30-4-1939 in respect of the *JAHRS*, Vol. XII, Part I, from Mr. C. Nagaraju, Propr. R. E. Press.

Resolved to pass the bill. (as checked and amended). The advances already paid to the printer may be taken into consideration, in the payment of the bill. The minor bills will be checked by the Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. R. Subba Rao and will be reported upon to the Council, for approval and sanction of payment.

17. Resolved to admit the following as an *ordinary* member of the Society. 1939—40.

M. V. Subrahmanyan Esq., M.A.,I.C.S.
District Magistrate & Collector, East Godavari Dist.,
COCANADA.

18. Read Letter from Dr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair.

Resolved to give him (Dr. C. R. Reddy) permission to reproduce his presidential address published in the *Rajarajanarendra Sanchika*, 1922, in the forthcoming publication of the book 'Dr. C. R. REDDY'S Essays', by the Andhra University.

19. Resolved to repay the principal sum due under the promissory note to Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur. Zamindar with thanks.

The Council places on record its deep debt of gratitude to the Rajah Saheb for his timely help and for writing off the interests. The Hon. Treasurer is requested to pay the sum and take back the promissory note and send it to the Hon. Secretary.

20. Resolved to open a current account in the Innespet Co-operative Central Bank, Innespet, Rajahmundry and also in the Imperial Bank, Rajahmundry, in the name of the Treasurer of the Society.

21. The Society places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the demise of Sri Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu garu, one of the four founders of the Society, pioneer and premier worker in the cause of Andhra Historical Research; and to communicate the resolution of the Council to the bereaved members of his family.

22. Read and checked the bills, dated 7—4—1939 from the Proprietor, Modern Hindu Hotel, Rajahmundry for Rs. 2-5-0 and Rs. 15-10-0, = Total Rs. 17-15-0 only and resolved to pay the same.

23. It is reported that the Hon. Secretary Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao will be absent from town for a period of six weeks during the summer season. Resolved that during the period of absence from about 23rd May to 19th June 1939, Mr. N. Kameswara Rao be requested to perform the duties of the Secretary. The Secretary is requested to communicate and authorise the Postmaster, Rajahmundry to deliver all tappals, book-packets, Registered parcels etc. to the Officiating Secretary Sri N. Kameswara Rao during the above period.

24. It is learnt that Mr. B. Viswanatha Sastri, Librarian and Curator has left the town without making arrangements for the work. It is hereby resolved to appoint Mr. M. Anna Reddy to Officiate as Librarian and Curator during the period of absence of Mr. Viswanatha Sastri, till 20th June 1939.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON SATURDAY, 1—7—1939 AT 8 A.M.

Present:—Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, (*in the chair*)
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri B. Visvanatha Sastri
Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri K. J. Gopala Rao

Resolutions:

1. Accounts of the Society up to date have been checked and adopted.

(Accounts checked by Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T.) The balance in the Savings Bank Account to-day is Rs. 423-4-1 only.

2. The account of the expenditure incurred by the Hon. Secretary in connection with the Reddi Empire Day Celebration is checked and found accurate by Mr. B. V. Sastri and Mr. R. Subba Rao. And the expenditure incurred viz., Rs. 25—0—6 is ratified.

3. The desirability of printing Vol. XII, part II of the *JAHRS* urgently in the Sujanaranjani Printing Works, Rajahmundry as a special measure in as much as the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press Rajahmundry has not so far obtained new types as promised from Madras or even replied to repeated letters from the Secretary.

Resolved to give time peremptorily to the Propr. R. E. Press till 7—7—1939.

4. Bill No. 636 dated 11—3—1939 for the job work done by the S. R. P. Works, Rajahmundry is checked and passed. Resolved to pay Rs. 7 (Seven) only in full satisfaction of the Bill and close the account.

5. Resolved to admit as an *Ordinary Member* of the Society for the year 1939—40.

Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI Saheb Bahadur, M.A.,B.L.
District & Sessions Judge, East Godavari, Rajahmundry.

6. In the vacancy of the office of the President, caused by the resignation of Mr. K. N. Anantaraman it is hereby resolved to elect Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb Bahadur, as President of the Society for the year 1939—40.

7. Resolved to draft and print a circular appeal letter on the lines suggested by Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur for enlisting the sympathy of the public of Andhradesa.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 30—7—1939.

Present:—Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb Bahadur (*President*)
Sri B. Visvanatha Sastri,
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao,
Sri M. Anna Reddy.

1. Read letter from Sri A. D. Pusalker, M.A.,LL.B., Bombay.

Resolved to elect him as a delegate to the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad-Deccan.

2. Read letter from the Propr. Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry. Resolved to advance a sum of Rs. 100 on the terms proposed by him.

3. Accounts up to date are checked and passed.

5. Resolved to celebrate the Mahabharata and Rajaraja Narendra Day on the 29th and 30th September 1939. Resolved to sanction a sum of Rs. 15 only for the purpose. The Secretary is authorised to do everything for the success of the Celebrations.

6. Resolved to keep over the consideration of the purpose of the Reddi Sanchika work till the next meeting of the Council.

7. Resolved to purchase an almyrah for the Library and a sum of Rs. 50 is sanctioned for the purpose.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 5—10—39.

Present:—Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI SAHEB Bahadur, President.
Mr. R. Subba Rao,
Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao,
Mr. B. V. Sastri,
Mr. M. Anna Reddi

Mr. M. Sambasiva Rao
Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur
Mr. N. Kameswara Rao

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as *ordinary* *mbers* of the Society.

Lt. Col. J. B. Gibson, Guardian to the Minor Maharaja of Bastar, Bastar State, JAGDALPUR, Bastar.

Gorrepati Venkata Subbayya Garu,
Landholder, GHANTASALA, Kistna Dt.

Dr. P. Srinivasachar, M.A.Ph.D. (Lond.)
Principal, S. R. R. College, BEZWADA.

2. Resolved to elect the following gentlemen as *delegates* to the THIRD INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS to be held in December 1939 at Calcutta.

1. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.
2. Mr. V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.
3. Mr. Mallidi Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.

It is expected that the delegates will meet their expenses.

4. Accounts up to date are checked and adopted.

5. Resolved to place on record the grateful thanks of the Council to the District Board, East Godavari, Cocanada for their kind sanction of a contribution of Rs. 200 to the Society.

6. Resolved to elect the following gentlemen as Editor and members of the Editorial Board for the Vol. XIII of the JAHRS.

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Editor*.
Mr. M. Anna Reddi } Members of the
Mr. N. Kameswara Rao } Editorial Board.

7. Resolved to authorise the following persons as *ad hoc* committee to peruse the Manuscript (*History of the Eastern Chalukyas*) and to report to the Council before 31—10—39.

Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has written a letter of request to the Managing Council to permit him to publish his (*History of the Easter Chalukyas* (a substantial portion of) i.e. the first ten chapters, coverin the period from 610 to 1118 A.D. in Vol. XIII of the *JAHRS* an permit him to take 500 off prints of his article, in a book form.

8. There is good deal of confusion in the Subscription accoun of the members and subscribers. Mr. N. Kameswara Rao is requeste to check the account with a view to determine and prepare an u to date subscription arrears list.

11. The managing council places on record to the Commission and Committee of the T. T. Devasthanam, Tirupati, for the free g of his publications to the Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 12—10—39.

(The meeting was held even before the Hon. Secretary arrived from the residence of the President.)

Present:—Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (Vice-President in the chair)
Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri B. V. Sastri
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri V. Appa Rao
Sri R. Subba Rao.

1. The work of the printing of the Reddi Sanchika so far is reviewed. So far 9 formes, pages 97-168 have been printed.

2. Re. Steps to be taken for expediting the publication, *Heard* the explanation from the EDITOR, Sri V. Appa Rao, and the printer Sri C. Nagaraju. 'Resolved that since the work will be printed from tomorrow again (13th instant) the new type having been received completely, the council records its satisfaction about the printing of the Sanchika in future.

3. Resolved to request and authorise Mr. Anna Reddi to collect funds by showing the work printed so far to the donars. A copy printed so far may also be sent to Dr. C. R. REDDY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 26—11—1939.

Present:—Sri N. Kameswara Rao (in the chair)
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri R. Subbā Rao
Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri.

1. It is now reported to the Council that the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press, has not done anything so far since 12-10-1939 to carry out the oral assurance given by him.

Resolved to entrust the printing of the Reddi Sanchika to the Sujanaranjani Printing Works, Rajahmundry also as the Proprietor, R. E. Press, has not so far in spite of repeated requests been able to compose or print off even a single line of the Reddi Sanchika from 12—10—1939 till 26—11—1939, in order to expedite the work.

2. The report of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao in accordance with Resolution No. 10 dated 5th October, in the matter of checking accounts and bring up to date the list of members and subscribers and determining

the arrears etc. is not received. It is reported that the work is proceeding.

4. Resolved to elect the undermentioned as ordinary member of the Society.

Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma
Tutor in Epigraphy & Archaeology,
Andhra University, Waltair.

8. Resolved to exhibit certain copper-plate grants belonging to the Museum of the Society at the Indian History Congress at Calcutta in December. The Copper-plates are to be entrusted to Mr. R. Subba Rao who is going as a delegate.

(Mr. R. Subba Rao at the meeting of the Council held on 11–12–1939 reported that he was not proceeding to Calcutta ; and therefore the question of the exhibition of the copper-plates is dropped.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 26—1—1940.

Present:—Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI SAHEB Bahadur (in the chair)
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao

1. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as *ordinary* members of the Society.

Prof. Abdul Majeed Siddique, M.A.,
Department of History,
Osmania University, Hyderabad (Dn).

Sriman Purna Chandra Rath, B.A.,D.Ed.,
Superintendent of Archaeology
Patna State, BOLANGIR P.O., Orissa.

Sri N. R. Kedari Rao, M.A.,L.T.,
Lecturer in English,
Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.

2. Resolved to appoint a sub committee consisting of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and Mr. R. Subba Rao to check the bills presented for payment by the Proprietor, Razan Electric Press, and to determine the amount due thereunder, before the next meeting of the Council.

Resolved further to pay an advance of Rs. 50 (Fifty) to the Printer (R. E. Press) towards the printing of Vol. XII Part iv of the *JAHRS*.

3. Resolved to elect the same Editor (Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao) and the same Editorial Committee of Messrs. M. Anna Reddy and N. Kameswara Rao) for the Volume XIII of the *JAHRS*.

5. Since it is reported by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao that he is willing to abide by the conditions laid down by the Managing Council at its meeting held on 5-10-1939 and the *ad hoc* committee and to print his *History of the Eastern Chālukyas*, accordingly, it is now resolved he (Mr. B. V. K.) be permitted to take five hundred off prints of his article at his own cost and to acknowledge the same in the *Preface.*

6. Resolved to consolidate all the four parts of the Vol. XIII into one Volume in order to bring the *JAHRS* up to date in an expeditious manner.

7. Resolved to purchase 12 double royal reams of 50 lbs printing paper for Vol. XIII.

8. Resolved to refer the article written by Mirza Nallaparaju of Tuni which is in the nature of a biographical sketch and which is sent through Mr. R. Subba Rao, to the Editorial Board.

9. Resolved to elect the following as additional delegates to the Tenth Session of the Oriental Conference at Tirupati.

Mr. Komaravolu Venkata Subba Rao, B.A.,
Innespeta, Rajahmundry.

Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, Lecturer,
Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.

10. Read the Circular Letter from the Curator, Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The Secretary is authorised to deal with the matter.

Read letter from the Director of India Studies, Library Congress Washington, U. S. A. The Secretary is authorised to deal with it.

12. Since Reddi Sanchika printing is not progressing, it is hereby resolved to request Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao to submit a report of the work done so far to the Council within a week (before 1-2-1940).

The matter of collecting the outstanding donations is to be held over to the next meeting of the Council for consideration.

14. Resolved to appoint a clerk on Rs. 12 per month from 16—2—1940 in the place of the peon whose services will terminate on 15—2—1940.

15. Resolved to place on record the profound sorrow of the Managing Council of the Society at the sad demise of Mahōpādhyāya *Kalāprapūrṇa* Rao Saheb G. V. RAMAMURTI PANTULU, B.A., Hon. President of the Society and to communicate the resolution to the members of the bereaved family.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ADJOURNED MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 24—3—1940.

Present :—Mr. R. Subba Rao (in the chair)

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao
Sri N. Kameswara Rao

1. Resolved that the Annual General Body Meeting be held on 7—4—1940 and that the programme drafted by the Secretary be adopted.

Printing Bills in respect of Vol. XII Parts 2 and 3 of the Journal have been checked by Mr. R. Subba Rao and Rajah Sri K. S Jagannadha Rao Bahadur,; In all Rs. 225 (i.e. Rs. 50 on 1?—5—1939, Rs. 75 on 20—7—1939 and Rs. 100 on 2—8—1939) had been paid to the Propr. Razan Electric Press, in respect of bills for printing Parts 2 and 3 of Vol. XII while he is actually entitled to Rs. 222-15-0 only. It is now found that a sum of Rs. 2-1-0 is received by the printer in excess. Resolved that this sum of Rs. 2-1-0 be accounted in settling future bills.

3. Accounts are checked and found correct up to date, the period being from 27—11—1939 to this date 24—3—1940.

4. Read the Auditor's Report dated 12-10-1939 and the Remarks. Suggestions made by the Auditor are noted for future guidance.

5. Considered the progress and the oral report made by Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, Editor, Reddi Sanchika. Resolved that in view of the inconvenience felt by him and the unsatisfactory progress, the work may again be entrusted to the R. E. Press.

6. In view of the unsatisfactory condition of the finances of the Society, the Kakatiya Sanchika may be sold for a period of one year from this date at the reduced price of Rs. 2 per copy.

7. Resolved to place on the Exchange List of the *JAHRS* the following:—

Bulletin of Deccan College Post Graduate
and Research Institute, POONA 6.

Resolved to request Mr. Korada Ramakrishnayya, M.A., Head of the Department of Telugu, Madras University, to send a specimen copy of the *ANNALS* published by the Department of Oriental studies, Madras University, for considering the question of placing it on the Exchange List.

8. Resolved to get the Library of the Society checked. It is also resolved to request Mr. K. Joga Rao of the Government Arts College to check the Library.

THE XVIII ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY RAJAHMUNDRY, 1939—40.

Presented to the General Body at its 18th Annual meeting held on 7—4—1940 at 8 A.M. by the Secretary.

We are meeting today under the shadow of a great grief over the demise of two distinguished historians of our land, Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Pantulu and Rao Saheb Kalaprapūrṇa Mahōpādhyāya Prof. Giḍugu Venkata Ramamūrti. The former was one of the four founders of the Society. He was the first historian of the Andhras; his *History of the Andhras,* is still the only comprehensive outline of the history of this country in Telugu. His life was one of sacrifice for the love of history and his name will go down to posterity as one of the distinguished pioneers in the field of historical research. Kalaprapūrṇa Ramamurti Pantulu was a great scholar, a linguist and a historian. His Grammar for the Savara language was properly recognised as a magnificent work of a rich intellect and he was honoured by the Government of India with the title of Rao Saheb and Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal for his valuable work. He was the first epigraphist in the Andhra country who, without any outside aid or guidance learnt out of his own innate talent to decipher the stone and copper-plate inscriptions and caused wonder to that distinguished epigraphist Dr. E. Hultzsch. Ramamurti Pantulu was for a time a member of the Society, Vice-President during the year 1936—37; later during this year he was elected to the dignity of the Honorary President of the Society. His death is a serious loss to the scholarship in the land and it is hard to find one who is so gifted and learned.

OFFICE–BEARERS

At the annual meeting of the general body held last year on 2—4—1939, the following office-bearers were elected.

President:	K. N. Anantaraman Esq., M.A.,I.C.S. 1–4–'39 to 18–5–'39.
	Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb M.A.,B.L., *Elected* on 18–5–'39.
Vice-President:	Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B.A.,B.L.
Secretary:	Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A.,B.L.
Treasurer:	Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B.A.,B.L.
Librarian, Curator:	Sri B. V. Sastri, M.A.,B.Ed.

	Sri R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T.
Members of the council:	Sri M. Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.
	Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
	Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.

1. LIFE, HONORARY AND ORDINARY MEMBERS

There has been no increase in the number of Life Members and no increase also in the number of Hon. Members.

During the year there had been no encouraging increase in the membership of the Society, though as many as 10 new members have joined the strength on the rolls ever remains the same. To-day the number of members on the rolls is 152 and it is not quite encouraging. During the year we had to strike off as many as 120 names from the rolls because most of these gentlemen were either dead or fell into arrears.

At the last annual meeting of the General Body we elected Ms. V. Prabhakara Sastri and M. Somasekhara Sarma as Hon. Members of the Society. The latter has also joined the Society as an ordinary member since then. According to rules these gentlemen will enjoy the dignity for three years from the date of election, till 1941-42.

2. MANAGING COUNCIL

There have been during the year 10 meetings of the managing Council for transacting the business of the Society.

3. CHANGE IN OFFICE-BEARERS

Early during the year, Mr. K. N. Anantaraman, I.C.S., the President was transferred to Parvatipur and therefore he resigned his Presidentship. The resignation was accepted by the Managing Council at its meeting held on 18—5—1939 and in his place our present President was elected by the Council on 23—7—1939 under the powers vested in it by the Rules. Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. Anantaraman who did much to improve the position of the Society.

4. LIBRARY AND READING ROOM

During the year the Library and Reading Room continued to attract a large number of visitors. But the working of the Library had not been quite satisfactory. During the year there have been regularly about ten visitors to the Library and on two occasions, the Museum and the Library shown to the students of the IV and V Forms of the Training College, Model High School, on the requisition sent by the Headmaster. The students greatly enjoyed the visit to the Museum as it proved to be but highly instructive to them.

5. LIBRARY

It was expected that a proper catalogue would be prepared either as a Supplement or as a new catalogue during the year but that was not to be. No doubt the Council on the suggestion of Mr. R. Subba Rao appointed a clerk to check the Library and prepare a catalogue by revising the previously printed one and bringing the Catalogue up to date. The clerk did the work admirably well but the Catalogue prepared by the clerk had not been revised. The Library too has not been properly arranged; the books are kept without numbers and there are no devices to pick up books quickly and correctly. The Library and the Museum deserve a careful and enthusiastic attention much as it did not before. The Library needs careful arrangement according to a plan and the catalogue has to be prepared in such a manner that maximum amount of convenience in consulting the books is secured.

There have been useful additions to the Library during this year. And the most notable of them all is the publication of SANCHI by Sir John Marshall in three Volumes costing Rs. 216. The publication of the excellently printed monograph with large plates of all details of the sculptures of the great monument was undertaken with the princely help given by the Bhopal Durbar. A set of 3 Volumes was presented to the Society by the Government of India through the kind offices of Rao Bahadur K. N. Diskhit; and our grateful thanks are due both to the Government of India (Department of Education, Health and Lands) and to the Director-General of Archaeology in India. The Society has been fortunate to receive as a gift from the Commissioner T. T. Devasthanams, all the publications of the Tirupati Oriental Institute. These are important and useful additions to the Society's Library.

During the year the Government Epigraphist requested the Society to send him estampages of copper-plate grants published in the Society's Journal. The Secretary accordingly supplied ink impressions of the Anaparti Grant of Kumāragiri, and the Rajahmundry Museum Plates of Annadeva Choda. During this year some of the C. P. grants secured by the Society for the Museum were lent to the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. They are the Elamanchili plates of Amma II and the Eluru grant of Sarvalōkāśraya. Both these plates have been published in the Society's Journal. There have not been any additions to the Society's Museum during this year either in the collection of copper-plates or coins.

6. ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

During the year the 3rd session of the Indian History Congress was held in December 1939 at Calcutta. It is well known that the

Indian History Congress owing to its annual sessions is growing in importance and equalling the All-India Oriental Conference which meets once in two years. To the Congress the Society elected two delegates Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao and R. Subba Rao. Both of them submitted papers to the Congress which were accepted. Mr. Krishna Rao attended the Congress and read his paper, *on the Origin and Original Home of the Chālukyas.* Mr. Subba Rao could not attend the conference though he contributed a paper on "The relations between Kalinga and Bengal in the Fourteenth Century."

The Tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference which was to have been held in Hyderabad under the auspices of the Osmania University could not be held in December last as was originally planned. It was held recently in Tirupati. To that Conference however, the Society deputed as many as 6 delegates. They are: Mr. R. Subba Rao, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. A. D. Puselkar, Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, Mr. M. Anna Reddi and Mr. K. V. Subba Rao. Several of them attended and the papers of others were sent to the Conference.

During the session at Tirupati, Dr. M. Rama Rao a member of the Society, was elected to the Executive Council of the Oriental Conference.

7. REDDI SANCHIKA

Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao, Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika* has been endeavouring his best to bring out an excellent publication. There has been unavoidable delay owing to a number of causes. The delay is partly due to the contributors who have been putting off the sending of their articles and partly to the lethargy of the Press. Till now 12 formes of the *Reddi Sanchika* have been printed and it is hoped that during this year Mr. V. Appa Rao will exert himself vigorously to see that the Volume is published. The Council had sanctioned and paid a sum of Rs. 20 towards travelling expenses during the year for going to Madras, to collect materials etc. for the *Reddi Sanchika.* It had also sanctioned provisionally a sum of Rs. 25 towards scriptory charges for copying some of the important Telugu Inscriptions from the *Local Records* and other sources. Mr. Appa Rao in consultation with the Editorial Board has decided to incorporate in the *Reddi Sanchika* all the important source materials like inscriptions, copper-plate and stone and extracts from literary works and *kaifiyats.* It is for this purpose that a small sum has to be spent. Owing to the lethargy of the Press, the Council decided to give a portion of printing of the *Reddi Sanchika* to the S. R. P. Works, but even there the work has not been satisfactory.

Mr. Appa Rao's statement on the progress of the *Reddi Sanchika* is herewith enclosed.

EDITOR, *Reddi Sanchika* begs to submit the following Report:—

During the year *i.e.* after the celebration of the Reddi Day, 90 pages of matter had been printed and one forme is in proof. The Razan Press stopped the work for 4 months stating that they had ordered for new types. Even after the press was changed to Sujanaranjani, work was not done rapidly. Proofs were not sent properly and work was not attended to (owing to want of hands). Only half of a forme was being composed and printed at a time. Now the work is again given to Razan Press.

Even now, if the press fully co-operated the major portion of the work can be done in 3 months.

The following articles are ready to be given to press:-

M. S. Sarma – Kāpaya Nāyaka.
Dr. N. V. Ramanayya – Some unpublished epigraphs of the Reddis.
Pendyala S. Sastry – Some Historical facts about Reddi History.
M. Gurubrahma Sastry – Bhāskarachāryulu.
Ambati Subbaraya Chetty – Social History of the Reddi-times.
V. Prabhakara Sastry – Presidential address.
Sagi V. Narasimham – Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa.
B. Tammayya – S'rī Nātha.
T. Kameswara Rao – S'rī Nātha.

Verses composed by

Mr. K. Venkata Rao
Mr. M. G. B. Sarma
Mr. B. Tammayya
Dr. C. R. Reḍḍi

ARTICLES PROMISED

B. V. Krishna Rao – Foreign Relations of the Reddis.
R. Subba Rao – 1. Reddis and the Kalinga Kings.
2. Historical Geography of the Reddi kingdom.
C. V. Sarma – S'aivism during the times of Reddis.
P. Seshadri Sastry – The Reḍḍis.
Nidadavolu Venkata Rao – S'ivalīlā vilāsam.
Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya – Reddis and Gajapatis.
Dr. M. Rama Rao – Koṇḍavīḍu.

The Council has to take steps for getting blocks made of the photographs to be published in the *Reddi Sanchika.*

The Editor has gathered some material in Inscriptions, and some more have to be copied.

The Editor regrets for the delays due whether from himself or from other sources and promises to expedite the work during the next quarter, with the help of the Secretary and the Council.

V. APPARAO.

8. PAYMENTS OF OLD DEBTS

At a time when the Society finances were depleted owing to a combination of circumstances, Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, Zamindar of Gazzaram and Kalipatam lent the Society a sum of Rs. 75 on a pronote executed by the Secretary. This was in 1937. During the year it had become possible to pay the old debt and the Society's grateful thanks are due to the Raja Saheb for his generosity in giving a timely loan, without charging interest.

9. JOURNAL

The Society's Journal Vol. XII should have been finished and issued during this year. Here again there has not been sufficient co-operation from the Press. Consequently Vol. XII, Part 4 still remains unpublished. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to publish the *JAHRS* as desired owing to this difficulty. It is hoped that before the end of April at least the part will be issued. At a meeting of the Managing Council held on 25—11—39 it was resolved to issue Vol. XIII as one consolidated part and to bring it out before July or August, 1940–41, to be up-to-date and in order that Vol. XIV might be commenced in regular parts from that date. It may be remembered that Vol. XIII is for the year under report 1939–40 and Vol. XIV will be for the year to run. So if it becomes possible to issue Vol. XIII (Consolidated) before the end of the half year (September) the Council might well take up Vol. XIV and keep abreast of the time. It may be of interest to the General Body to know that Vol. XIII will contain *History of the Eastern Chālukyas from* 610–1210 A. D. by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao as the leading article.

During the year the Society received the usual Municipal grant and is expecting the District Board Grant in the course of this month. Our Society's thanks are due to the District Board East Godavari and the Rajahmundry Municipality.

It has been found by experience that a clerk is more useful to the Society in place of a peon. For the present the Society's finances do not permit the employment of both the peon and clerk. So from the month of February the Society has employed a clerk on Rs. 12 per mensem.

THE XX ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, PRESENTED AT THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL BODY HELD ON TUESDAY, 15TH APRIL 1941.

[This meeting should have been held on the 6th instant; for want of quorum it was adjourned to this day and hour.]

We are meeting here to-day under the shadow of the death of two gentlemen who were intimately connected with the Society from the very inception. Sri Nyapathi Subba Rao Pantulu, B. A., B. L., Advocate and Landholder and the most respected citizen of Rajahmundry, took a keen and sympathetic interest in the welfare and progress of the Society. It was his donation of Rs. 50 at the very outset in 1922 that helped a good deal to make the celebration of the *Ninth Centenary Day of Rajaraja Narendra's Coronation* a great success and the foundation of the Society an accomplished fact. His death is no small loss to us. Sri Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, B. A., B. L., Retired Deputy Collector, was a great scholar. He was for six long years the President of the Society. It was during the period of his presidentship that the Society celebrated first the *Kalinga Day* at Mukhalingam and the *Kakatiya Day* at Warangal. Even after retirement from the Presidentship of the Society, Mr. Ramayya Pantulu continued to evince interest in the Society. In 1938, the Society celebrated his 75th birthday under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and in commemoration of the event issued Volume X of the Journal of the Society in a consolidated form as Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Birthday Commemoration Volume.

At the last annual meeting of the General body held on 7th April 1940, the following office-bearers were elected.

President: Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI Saheb Bahadur, M.A., B.L.
Vice-President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu B.A., B.L.
Secretary: Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.
Treasurer: Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B.A., B.L.
Librarian & Curator: Sri A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL.

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur, Zamindar.
Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao,
Sri M. Anna Reddi, M.A., LL.B.

CHANGES IN THE OFFICE-BEARERS

During the year there were many changes in the office-bearers. President who was District and Sessions Judge of East Godavari, Rajahmundry, was transferred to Anantapur, and consequently he resigned. His resignation was accepted by the Council at its meeting held on 22—8—1940; and at the same meeting Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur was elected President. But the Rajah Saheb expressed his inability to be the President of the Society. The Council then at its meeting held on 18—2—1941 elected Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, Vice-President as the President of the Society. Consequent on the elevation of the Vice-President to the Presidentship, the former office fell vacant; and the Council elected Mr. R. Subba Rao to that office. Mr. Subba Rao's place as an ordinary member of the Council was then filled by electing Mr. Vaddadi Apparao, B.A., B.L. to it. During the early part of the year Mr. A. Sankara Rao resigned his office of the Librarian & Curator of the Society. The Council at its meeting held on 20—8—1940 elected Mr. Anna Reddi, a member of the Council to that office; and in the vacancy of Mr. Anna Reddi elected Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer to the Council.

MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

Though there had been fresh admission of *ordinary* members to the Society, the number on the rolls remains the same. This is due to the fact that while new members come in old ones drop out, some by death and others by resignation. We have to-day 112 members on our rolls. As many as 150 names have been struck of the rolls, of them 34 resigned and the rest either died or dropped their membership.

There has been increase in the *subscribers* by the addition of one.

There has been no increase in the honorary membership of the Society during the year. There are two Honorary Life members of the Society and their names will be found at the end in the Appendix. Till now we have not conferred the Honorary membership of the Society on any scholar outside Andhra. It is now proposed that the honour may be conferred upon two outstanding scholars who are not likely to become or continue as ordinary members of the Society. D. R. Bhandarkar M.A., Hon. PH. D. and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M. A., F. R. A. S. B. Dr. Bhandarkar is an eminent scholar and historian. In honouring him the Society will be honouring itself. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., Director-General of Archæology in India is another great scholar who has been watching with keen and sympathetic interest the welfare and progress of the Society. And we owe to his watchful care and sympathy

some of the very valuable and important publications of the Government of India and the Bhopal Durbar as presents to our Library. These two gentlemen are elected for a period of three years.

There is no increase in the number of *life members* of the Society. There are only six life members and their names are given in the Appendix.

MEETINGS OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL

The year under report is a bad period for the Society. There were only six meetings of the Council during the year at which the business of the Society was transacted. The Maharajah of Jeypore, Maharaja Dr. Sri Vikrama Deo Varma Maharajulumgaru, Hon. D. Litt. (Andhra) is a patron of the Society. He was in this city in August last year. The Council availed itself of the opportunity of the Maharaja Saheb's visit to this place and presented an address of welcome to him. That took place on 26th August 1940. The Maharaja Saheb was so pleased with the Society and the working of the Library that he announced a special donation of Rs. 200 to the Society. The address which the Council presented to the Maharaja Saheb is to be found at the end of this report. The Council elected three delegates to the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress at Lahore, to represent the Society. They were Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. R. Subba Rao, and Mr. M. Anna Reddi. It is to be regretted that though the delegates contributed papers they could not attend the Session.

RULES COMMITTEE

The Council appointed a Committee consisting of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. R. Subba Rao and Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, the last mentioned as convener to revise and bring up-to-date the Rules of the Society. The work is proceeding; and it is hoped that it will be possible to print the revised RULES during the ensuing year.

JOURNAL

It is to be greatly regretted that Vol. XIII of the *JAHRS* could not be issued during the year as was expected. The non-publication of the Journal was due to variety of causes but the main cause was the trouble the Council had with the printer who did not get new types of printing material as originally promised. Hence negotiations with the S. P. Press and S. R. P. Works were started and in the end, the Council decided to entrust the printing

of the Journal to the S. R. P. Works as its rates were suitable and agreeable. The new printer had to recast his type in order to obtain the necessary type with all diacritical letters and it was December by the time the new type was ready in the S. R. P. Works. Another cause for the non-publication of the Journal is that the Council decided in February not to issue Vol. XIII as a consolidated Volume of all the four parts put together but to issue the four parts separately as far as possible. The Journal is now in print; it will be issued shortly.

REDDI SANCHIKA

It is unfortunate that the progress of printing of the Reddi Sanchika has been slow during the year. A variety of causes over which the Council had no control contributed to the slow execution of the work. The council hopes that the new year will create an atmosphere for expediting the work in a satisfactory manner.

THE LIBRARY, FREE READING ROOM AND MUSEUM

The Library, Free Reading Room and the Museum have been as usual attracting a number of visitors every day. And it is gratifying to observe that the average attendance per day is fifteen visitors. A catalogue, rather a revised catalogue, and proper arrangement of the books are the most important needs for the Library. It is hoped that the new Library Committee and the Librarian will exert themselves to remove the long standing want during this year.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY

The finances of the Society have not improved. More members and more public sympathy have to be enlisted. It is hoped that the new Council will find ways and means to enlist more public sympathy and adequate financial support from several places in Andhra that have not been so far visited. During the year the Society received a donation of Rs. 200 from the District Board, East Godavari. The Society's thanks are due to the President and Members of the District Board. The Council requested the District Board to make an annual contribution to the Society of a sum of Rs. 200 but the Board expressed its inability to do so.

The Council appeals to all members local and mufussil to bring in as many members as possible into the Society so that the Society may do more and more useful work in future.

B. V. KRISHNA RAO,
Secretary.

THE XX ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1940—41.

I took charge of the Library only on 27—8—'40. As no separate report is being submitted by Mr. A. Sankara Rao, the previous librarian, I propose to deal with the working of the Library for the whole year i. e. from 7—4—40 to 6—4—41.

Our Library is situated in an ideally convenient and central locality. Hence it is attracting a good number of visitors and readers. The number of visitors and readers during 1940—41 is 3449. The number of visitors and readers during 1937—38 was only 896. So it is obvious that there is a marked improvement in the number of visitors. The average number of daily visitors is nearly 15.

During the year there are about 400 additions including periodicals and Books for review; the number of books being about two dozens. Among books and journals received mention may be made of the following :—History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa, Records of Fort. St. George, Ephigraphia Indica ; Indian Information, Annuals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati; Journal of Indian History, The Modern Review, Viswa Bharati, Bharati, Grihalakshmi, Triveni. Thus we are getting many good journals both in English and in Telugu. There are a good number of periodicals on our exchange list.

In conclusion I wish to add a word. A resolution was passed sometime back to check the whole Library. But nothing is done in that respect. It is necessary to check the Library. A list of missing books and volumes, if any, should be prepared and a fresh catalogue is absolutely necessary.

Rajahmundry
6—4—1941

M. A. REDDI,
Hon. Librarian.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURE OF

Statement of Income and Expenditure

Details of Expenditure :		Rs.	A.	P.
Advance to Secretary	...	8	0	0
Postage	...	36	8	0
Miscellaneous	...	11	11	0
Establishment	...	88	8	0
Journal Printing including advances	...	307	3	0
Rent and lighting	...	162	0	0
Stationery (Paper etc.)	...	125	15	0
Savings Bank Deposit (on page 66 of cash book)		* 3	10	11
Travelling Allowances	...	2	0	0
Reddi Sanchika Pamphlets	...	28	0	0
Purchase of Books	...	10	6	0
To Balance				
Rs. 172-4-6. Total Expenditure	..	783	13	11

From the statements drawn above, it will be observed that the financial condition of the society is not so good as it was during the previous years; it is due to the absence of the issue of the journal. In most cases advances have been received already from the institutions for the journal to be issued. In spite of all these attempts to keep up the financial condition, we fail; but for the efforts of the Honorary

Rajahmundry,
D. 6—4—1941

* This item of expenditure Rs. 3-10-11 seems to be a mistake and hence it has to be deleted. So the actual expenditure ought to be Rs. 783-13-11 - Rs. 3-10-11 = 780-3-0.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

for 1940 (April) to 1941 (March)

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Opening Balance :							
S. B. Account Balance	...	152	0	0	152	1	1
Balance on hand	...				132	14	6
					284	15	7
Details of Income :	...				667	7	11
Subscriptions from Members	...	96	4	0			
Miscellaneous (A sum of 3-10-11 is interest on deposit)	...	4	3	11			
By sale of publications	...	49	8	0			
From Institutions	...	109	8	0			
Advances recovered	...	8	0	0			
Contributions from East Godavary District Board and Maharajah Saheb of Jeypore Rs. 200 each		400	0	0			
Total	...	667	7	11	952	7	6

Secretary Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao M. A., B. L, the financial condition of the society would have been worse. He approached the East Godavary District Board and the Maharajah Saheb of Jeypore who contributed Rs. 200 each for the benefit of the society and the society is highly indebted to him. It is highly desirable to work at adding new members for strengthening the financial condition of the society.

K. J. GOPALA ROW, B.A., B.L.
Honorary Treasurer.

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO

SRI SRI SRI

DR. VIKRAMA DEO MAHARAJULUMGARU,

HON. D. LITT. (ANDHRA) MAHARAJAH OF JEYPORE,
PRO-CHANCELLOR, ANDHRA UNIVERSITY &
PATRON, ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

May it please You Maharajah Saheb!

We are happy and proud to accord to you a hearty welcome to our Society, after years of interval, once again.

We are grateful to you for your constant and watchful care of our Society's progress as our Sole Patron.

Fourteen years ago Providence brought the Society into close touch with you. It was the Society's singular good fortune that you were generously pleased to be the CHAIRMAN of the Reception Committee of the KALINGA DAY CELEBRATION at Mukhalingam, and thereafter to extend to the Society oft and on great help in every manner.

Since then the Society has been enjoying the warmth of your patronage and carrying on work continuously, which has been recognised all over the country. We are proud to state that the Society's activities and achievements have been throughout varied and valuable.

As the Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University and Patron of our Society and as Patron of other learned bodies, of Letters, Scholars and Poets your splendid munificence is well known. Our Society which is flourishing under your benevolent care has no building of its own though it has been in existence for nearly two decades. We therefore humbly and earnestly beg to appeal to you to extend your gracious patronage so that the Society may have a permanent abode of its own associated with your illustrious name.

We humbly pray the All-Merciful Almighty to bless you with long life, sound health and increasing prosperity.

We remain,
Respected Sir,

The President, & Members
of the Managing Council,
Andhra Historical Research Society.

Rajahmundry
26—8—1940

HON. LIFE MEMBERS

Sri R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
Sri Chilukuri Narayana Rao, M.A., PH.D.
Sri P. Seetaramayya.

NOTES OF THE QUARTERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 7—4—1940, AT 7-30 A. M.

Present:- Sri N. Kameswara Rao—Vice-President (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri
Sri K. J. Gopala Rao
Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri Vaddadi Apparao

1. Resolved that the Annual Report prepared by the Secretary and read, be adopted subject to the suggestions made in the margin of the draft, which should be carried into effect.

2. Resolved that the Statements of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1939-40 submitted by the Treasurer be adopted.

3. Resolved that the Report for the year 1939-40 of the working of the Library and Museum read by the Librarian and Curator be adopted.

4. Resolved that the Report on the progress of work on the *Reddi Sanchika* presented by the Editor, Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao be approved and adopted.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XIX ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING HELD ON 7—4—1940.

Members present:—

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu (Vice-President.)
2. Sri R. Subba Rao
3. Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
4. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
5. Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
6. Sri Dr. M. Rama Rao
7. Sri Rebbapragada Subba Rao
8. Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao
9. Sri Adavi Sankara Rao
10. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
11. Sri B. Viswanatha Sastri.

In the unavoidable absence of the President, the Vice-President Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu took the chair.

The following Resolutions were adopted.

1. The Annual Report of the working of the Society for the year 1939-40 read by the Secretary (Sri B. V. Krishna Rao) moved for adoption by Mr. Vaddadi Apparao and seconded by Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, is unanimously adopted.

2. The Annual Report of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the year 1939-40, read by the Treasurer is adopted unanimously. The General body made certain suggestions to be incorporated in the Report. The resolution was moved by Dr. M. Ramarao, and seconded by Mr. Rebbapragada Subbarao.

3. The Report of the working of the Society's Library and Musuem for the year 1939-40 is read by the Librarian. The resolution is moved by Mr. A. Sankararao and seconded by Dr. M. Rama Rao. The report is adopted unanimously.

4. The report on the progress of printing of the *Reddi Sanchika*, read by Mr. Vaddadi Apparao, and moved for adoption by Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. A. Sankara Rao, is unanimously accepted.

5. The following OFFICE-BEARERS were elected for the year 1940-41.

President: Khan Bahadur Yahya Ali Saheb Bahadur, M. A., B. L.
Vice-President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, B. A., B. L.
Secretary: Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
Treasurer: Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.
Librarian & Curator: Sri A. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T.

Ordinary Members of the Managing Council :

1. Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
2. Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
3. Sri M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.
4. Sri M. Sambasiva Rao.

The above resolution was moved by Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer and supported by Dr. M. Rama Rao. Adopted unanimously.

6. Resolved further to place on record the Society's thanks to all the out-going Office-Bearers of the year 1939-40.

Put from the chair and adopted unanimously.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 14—4—1940.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishnarao
Sri A. Sankara Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi.

Resolutions:—

1. That the following gentlemen be admitted as *Ordinary* members of the Society.

Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M. A., L. T.,
Lecturer. Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.

2. That the Post Office Savings Bank Account be closed in INNESPETA P. O. and a new S. B. Account be opened in RAJAHMUNDRY Innespeta Co-operative Bank forthwith.

3. That Sri Dronamraju Kameswara Rao, B.A., G. D. A., R.A., be appointed *Auditor* for the year 1939–40 to audit the accounts.

4. That the following gentlemen be appointed to the LIBRARY COMMITTEE:—

1. Sri A. Sankara Rao. (Ex-officio) Librarian.
2. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
3. Sri M. Anna Reddi
4. Sri R. Subba Rao.

Resolved that the Committee is requested to prepare a catalogue of books in the Library which will be printed.

5. Resolved to style Volume XIII of the *JAHRS* as the *Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Memorial Volume*, and to print all the four parts in a consolidated form.

6. Accounts up to date are passed after checking.

7. Resolved that a shelf for placing the books of the Library be purchased as soon as funds are available.

8. Considered the desirability of entrusting the printing work of the *JAHRS* to any other press for the speedy execution of the work, or in the alternative to retain the work in the Razan Electric Press on such penal terms, for instance, as would disentitle the Proprietor of the Press for full rates if the work is again delayed beyond a certain time limit. Resolved to postpone the matter until the next meeting of the Council.

Proceedings of the Managing Council held on 20th August 1940.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, Pantulu, (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishnarao
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur.

Resolved to remove the following names from the Roll of membership of the Society.

1. Sri D. Venkata Rao, M. A., L. T.,
Lecturer. C. D. College, Anantapur.
2. Sri G. Jagannathaswami, M. A., L. T.,
Retd. Headmaster, Challapalli, Kistna Dt.

The balance of subscription that may be due from them should be written off as they have expressed their inability to continue their membership any longer.

2. Resolved to accept the resignation of Khan Bahadur YAHYA ALI Saheb Bahadur of his office of the President of the Society as he has been transferred from the station, with regret.

Resolved further to accept with regret his resignation of the membership of the Society, too, with effect from 1—4—1940.

3. Resolved to check the Bills presented by the R. E. Press in respect of the printing work of Vol. XII, Part IV of the *JAHRS* with the help of the Minutes Book, and to sanction the payment of any sum that may be found due to the said Press.

4. Resolved to pay an advance of Rs. 200 (Two Hundred) only for the present towards the printing of the *four* parts consolidated of Volume XIII to the S. R. P. Works, Rajahmundry, and thereby entrust the printing of the Journal to them on the conditions embodied in the written agreement executed by the Proprietor of the said S. R. P. Works, as soon as the grant from the District Board is received.

5. Resolved to pass the Accounts of the Society up to date from 14—4—40.

6. Resolved to accept the resignation of the Librarianship of the Society by Sri M. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T., and to elect Sri M. Anna Reddi, as Librarian & Curator in the vacancy.

7. Resolved to elect Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur as the President of the Society.

8. Resolved that the printing bills in respect of the *Reddi Sanchika* submitted by the S. R. P. Works, might be checked by Mr. R. Subba Rao.

9. Considered the question of advancing a sum of Rs. 15/- to the Secretary towards travelling expenses for the purpose of going to Masulipatam, Bapatla, Nellore and other places for the purpose of enlisting support to the Society. Resolved that the question might lie over for the present.

10. Considered the question of the shifting the *Library*, *Museum* and *Reading Room* of the Society to the premises of the Industrial Museum, Fort, Rajahmundry. Resolved that the matter might lie over for the present.

11. Resolved to present an address of welcome to the Maharaja of Jeypore, Patron of the Society, on the occasion of his visit to Rajahmundry on the 25th August 1940 and to request Sri N. Kameswara Rao and Sri B. V. Krishna Rao to draft the address.

12. Resolved to elect Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer to the Managing Council in the place of Mr. M. Anna Reddi who has been elected as the Librarian & Curator.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 17—11—1940.

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao (*in the chair*)
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri R. Subba Rao
Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri M. Sambasiva Rao
Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao.

1. Resolved that the accounts up to 20—8—40 be checked and adopted.

2. Resolved that a sum of Rs. 28 (Twenty Eight) only be paid to the S. R. P. Works, in full satisfaction of their bill, in respect of printing *Reddi Sanchika*, dated 16—5—40 (since Rs. 20 were paid as advance on 1—9—40) and the balance of Rs. 3 be written off. The sum should be paid immediately.

3. Considered the printing bills of the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry and resolved that the checking and payment thereof may be allowed to lie over for the present.

4. Considered the question of granting a promotion of one rupee to the peon of the Society per mensem i. e raise his pay from Rs. 6 to 7 per mensem from December 1940 and Resolved to enhance his pay to Rs. 7 per mensem from 1—12—1940.

5. Read letter from the General Secretary, *Fourth Indian History Congress*, Lahore. Resolved to elect the following gentlemen as delegates:—

1. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
2. Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
3. Sri M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.

6. Considered the desirability of appointing a RULE MAKING COMMITTEE for the purpose of bringing the rules of the Society up to date, so as to facilitate printing thereof as copies of the Rules are out of print and out of date.

Resolved to appoint Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao, G. Narayana swami Aiyer and N. Kameswara Rao as members of the Rule Making Committee and to request the Committee to submit the DRAFT RULES by January 1941.

7. Resolved to approve of the action of the Secretary in giving the printing work of the Journal, Vol. XIII, and in paying an advance of Rs. 200 only to the Proprietor, Sujana Ranjani Printing Works, Rajahmundry.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 17—12—1940 at 5-30 P. M.

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao, Vice President (*in the chair*)
2. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
3. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
4. Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
5. Sri R. Subba Rao
6. Sri M. Anna Reddi.

Resolutions :—

1. Mr. *Vidvan* Ganti Jogi Somayajulu, M. A.,
Lecturer, Department of Telugu,
Andhra University, Waltair.
is admitted as an Ordinary Member of the Society for the year 1940-41.

The meeting was adjourned at this stage as it became late and was continued on the next day, i. e., 18—12—1940.

2. Read Letter dated 22—8—1940 from Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur expressing his inabilty to be the President of the Society.

Resolved to accept his resignation with regret.

3. The accounts up to date have been checked and passed. The period covered is from 20—8—1940 to 18—12—1940.

4. Resolved to elect Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, Vice-President, as President of the Society.

5. Resolved to elect Mr. Rallabandi Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., as Vice-President, in the vacancy of Mr. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu.

6. Resolved to elect Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao as an ordinary member of the Managing Council in the place of Mr. R. Subba Rao.

7. Checked all the Bills and payments in respect of printing of the *JAHRS*, of the Razan Electric Press, Rajahmundry.

It has been found that the Bills for printing Vol. XI were paid in full and nothing is due in respect of them.

Resolved therefore, that with regard to the printing of Vol. XII Parts 1 to 4, after checking all the bills, it is found that a sum of Rs. 49-3-0 only is due and that the same be paid to him after obtaining a receipt from him in full discharge of his claims in respect of the printing of the *JAHRS.*

Resolved further that Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Secretary should examine the sundry bills that have been outstanding for a long time and report to the Council before its next meeting about the actual amount that may be found due to him for payment.

8. Resolved *not* to print Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao's HISTORY OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS in the Journal of the Society, in Vol. XIII in supersession of the resolution passed by the Council on 25—1—1940.

9. Resolved further to issue the Vol. XIII part by part and not in a consolidated form.

(It means that Vol. XIII, *JAHRS* will not be styled as *Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao Memorial Number*).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 18th FEBRUARY 1941 AT 6 P. M.

Members present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (*in the chair*) President.
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved to place on record the Society's sense of profound grief at the demise of Sri N. Subba Rao Pantulu garu, one of the

Hon. Presidents of the Society, who till the last minute of his life watched in sympathy the progress of the Society.

Resolved that the above resolution should be communicated to the bereaved members of his family.

2. Resolved to place on record the Society's deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Sri Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu, sometime President of the Society.

Resolved further to communicate the above resolution to the bereaved members of his family.

3. Accounts have been checked and passed up to date. The balance to-day on hand is Rs. 49-13-0 only.

4. Resolved that the 30th March 1941 be fixed for summoning the Annual General Body meeting; and a suitable programme be drawn up by the Secretary in consultation with Mr. R. Subba Rao and Mr. M. Anna Reddi.

5. All the minor bills for printing handbills, namely, (1) Nos. 2132 dated 21—2—1939 (2) No. 2114 dated 3—2—1939, (3) No. 2102 dated 1—1—39, (4) No. 2164 dated 16—4—1939, (5) No. 2186 dated 8—5—1939, (6) No. 2191 dated 15—5—1939 and (7) No. 2060 dated 15—11—1938 have been checked and found correct by Mr. R. Subba Rao and the Secretary.

After deducting the sums paid already it is found that a sum of Rs. 14/- only is due to the Razan Electric Press in respect of these bills. Resolved therefore to pay the said sum of Rs. 14/- to the Proprietor Razan Electric Press and obtain receipt from him in full satisfaction of his claims.

Resolved further that all further dealings be closed with the Razan Electric Press.

N. B. The Reddi Sanchika printing work alone remains to be settled.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 18—3—41.

Members present :—

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu, President.
2. Sri R. Subba Rao
3. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
4. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
5. Raja Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
6. Sri M. Anna Reddi

1. Resolved to give ten days' time till 29th March 1941 both days inclusive to the Razan Electric Press for commencing the printing of *Reddi Sanchika*. If by that date the Proprietor is not

able to commence the printing in his press, then the printing of the *Reddi Sanchika* be entrusted to another press, namely, S. Works, Rajahmundry.

2. Accounts from 18—12—1941 up-to-date i. e. 18—3— checked and passed. Balance on hand is Rs. 21-11-3 only.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 15—4—1941.

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, *President.*
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao.
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer

Resolutions:—

1. The Report and Remarks of the Auditor Mr. D. Kameswara Rao, B. A., G. D. A., R. A. of the accounts of the Society for the year 1939-40 have been adopted subject to the review of the Remarks.

It is hereby resolved to pay an honororium of Rs. 10/- to the Auditor for his services.

Remarks :— The vouchers for Rs. 15/- re photographs are perfectly in order. (2) The practice of receiving moneys on behalf of the Society by two persons, Secretary and Treasurer will be avoided as far as possible. This involves certain practical difficulties. The Secretary will put a note in the *JAHRS* requesting the members and subscribers to remit their subscriptions direct to the Treasurer. But the Treasurer can avoid and need not write in the accounts (Journal) the detail that the particular item was received through the Secretary. It is the cause of all this trouble. (3) A statement of stock in trade of books will be prepared immediately.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE * MEETING OF THE GENERAL BODY HELD ON 15—4—1941.

This is the adjourned meeting of the General Body which could not be held on the 6th April 1941 for want of quorum.

Members present:—

1. Sri N. Kameswara Rao, *President.*

* There need not be a quorum for an adjourned meeting of the General Body.

2. Sri R. Subba Rao
3. Sri B. V. Krishnarao
4. Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
5. Sri C. Atmaram
6. Sri Vaddadi Appa Rao
7. Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
8. Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
9. Sri C. Nagaraju

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved that the Annual Reports of the (1) Secretary, of the working of the Society, (2) Treasurer, of the Receipts and Expenditure and (3) Librarian & Curator, of the working of the Library and Reading Room of the Society be adopted.

Moved by Mr. C. Atmaram

Seconded by Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer and

Supported by Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao

The report of the Auditor, regarding the accounts of the Society for the year 1939—40 be adopted.

Proposed by Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao

Seconded by Mr. R. Subba Rao.

2. Resolved that the following OFFICE-BEARERS be elected for the year 1941—42. The election took place unanimously.

President: Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L.,
Landholder and Advocate.

Vice-President: Sri R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.

Secretary: Sri C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L.,

Treasurer: Sri K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.,

Librarian & Curator: Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M. A., L. T.,

Ordinary Members of the Council :

1. Sri N. R. Kedari Rao, M. A., L. T.
2. Sri M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B.
3. Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
4. Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.

3. Resolved that Mr. D. Kameswara Rao be elected as Auditor of the Society's accounts for the year 1940—41.

4. Resolved to place on record the high sense of gratitude and thankfulness of the Society to Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A, B. L., the out-going Secretary for his great labour and inestimable love he

has shown towards the Society, for whose progress he has worked unceasingly, for the last five years.

5. Resolved to place on record the thanks of the Society for the out-going office-bearers of the Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 23RD APRIL 1941.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, President.
Sri Rallabandi Subba Rao
Sri V. Apparao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved that the printing of the *Reddi Sanchika* be completed by the 31st July 1941; and to request the Editor thereof to expedite the publication within that date.

6. Read the letter from the Local Secretary, Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, Dn.

Resolved that it should be circulated among the local members of the Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 15TH JUNE 1941.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu
Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur
Sri B. V. Krishnarao
Sri C. Atmaram
Sri V. Appa Rao

Resolutions :—

1. The Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika* is requested to expedite the printing of the work.

2. That the Treasurer be requested to advance necessary money for covering postage expenses for the despatch of the *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, part 1, and be authorised to recover the said advance as soon as the V. P. amounts are received. Vol. XIII part 1 is a V. P. part.

3. That the following gentlemen be elected as *delegates* to the XI Session of the All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad, (Deccan) to be held in December 1941.

1. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
2. Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., PH. D.
3. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
4. Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao, M. A., L. T.
5. Mr. A. D. Puselkar, M. A., LL. B.
6. Mr. K. J. Gopala Rao, B. A., B. L.

4. That the accounts of the Society up-to-date, i. e. from 18—3—1941 to 15—6—1941 be passed.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Managing Council held on 24—6—1941. (Adjourned meeting)

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, President.
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri V. Appa Rao
Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1, Resolved to print 64 pages only for the second part of Vol. XIII of the *JAHRS*, and as the Editor reports that 28 pages have already been printed, he is requested to expedite the publication of the issue.

a. The Editor of the *Reddi Sanchika* is also requested to bring out the publication by completing it in six weeks from now.

2. Resolved to lend the blocks relating to the article by Swami Pranavandji on spiritual vibration that appeared in the *JAHRS* some time ago, to Mr. S. V. Narasimham, with a request to acknowledge the loan if they are used. The particular block that is required 'Breaking Ice on Gauri-kund for taking bath.'

3. Resolved to appoint a committee, consisting of the llowing :—1. Secretary,
2. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao
3. Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
4. Mr. N. R. Kedari Rao

framing RULES for governing the LIBRARY & THE READING ROOM.

4. Resolved to hold the Half-Yearly meeting of the Society out the penultimate Saturday in October.

5. Resolved to elect Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer also as a delegate to the XI Oriental Conference to be held in Hyderabad (Dn.)

6. Resolved to send the following gentlemen as *delegates* to the Fifth Indian History Congress to be held in Hyderabad (Dn.)

1. Mr B. V. Krishna Rao, M. A., B. L.
2. Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M. A., L. T.
3. Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T.
4. Mr. M. Anna Reddi, M. A., LL. B

7. Resolved to pass accounts up-to-date, i. e. from 15—6—1941 to 24—8—41.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 26—10—1941.

Present :—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, (*in the chair*) President.
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi
Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved that in view of the two resolutions passed on 15—6—1941 & 24—6—41 the Editor, Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao is very earnestly requested to finish his article by the end of November at any cost and send it to the Secretary, having regard to the commitments made to the Public and donors by the Society, so that the Sanchika may be printed elsewhere, if necessary.

2. Resolved to admit the following periodicals to our Exchange List :

1. Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
2. New Indian Antiquary.

3. Resolved to request the Treasurer to advance a sum of Rs. 100 to the Society personally to meet current expenses, and to authorise him to recover the said sum from the Annual Grant from the Rajahmundry Municipality (which has been sanctioned) when it is received.

4. Resolved to sanction necessary expenditure on articles to be exhibited in the name of the *Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry*, to Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, who will be in sole charge of the Exhibits in the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad, Deccan.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 18—1—1942.

Present :—

Mr R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., Vice-President (*in the chair*)
Mr. C. Atmaram
Mr. G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Mr. Vaddadi Appa Rao
Rajah Sri K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur

Resolutions :—

1. The question of expediting printing of *Reddi Sanchika* considered. In view of the statement made by the Editor, that the *Appendix* is ready for the press even now and that his editorial article would be ready for the press in fifteen days more, the Council hopes that the book will be ready by 31st March 1942.

2. Resolved to admit the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society, for the year 1941—42.

1. Rao Saheb M. Suryanarayana, M. A., L. T.
Retd. Additional Professor of English, Presidency College,
Danavayipeta, Rajahmundry,
2. Prof. H. G. Banerjee, M. A., BT.
Haverin, Dharwar.
3. Mr. T. Balakrishna Nair, M. A., PH. D. (Lond.)
Chief Lecturer in History, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
4. Prof. Hem Chandra Roy, M. A., PH. D.
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

5. Resolved that the Accounts from 24—8—1941 up-to-date be passed.

6. Resolved to purchase an almyrah for the Society. The price may not exceed Rs. 30/- for the present.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 20—3—1942.

Present:—

Sri N. Kameswara Rao, President. (*in the chair*)
Sri R. Subba Rao
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri C. Atmaram

Resolutions :—

1. Resolved to hold the Annual meeting of the General body of the Society on 5th April 1942.

2. Accounts from 19—1—1941 to 23—3—1942 have been checked and passed.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL HELD ON 4—4—1942.

Present :—

Sri R. Subba Rao Vice-President, (*in the chair.*)
Sri C. Atmaram
Sri B. V. Krishna Rao
Sri G. Narayanaswami Aiyer
Sri N. R. Kedari Rao
Sri M. Anna Reddi

Resolutions :—

Read the Annual Reports drafted by the Secretary, Librarian & Treasurer.

Resolved to adopt them subject to certain amendments made in the margins thereof.

2. Considered the notice given by the House-owner, and read the letter from the Local Branch Secretary of the Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd., informing the Secretary that they are vacating the premises.

It has become necessary to vacate the first floor of the building which the Society's Library & Reading Room has occupied since 1939.

Resolved to request Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao to look into the affair by consulting Mr. P. Bhashyakarlu Aiyengar, the house-owner.

Resolved to appoint Mr. D. Kameswara Rao again as the Auditor for 1941—42 for the Society's accounts and pay him the usual honorarium of Rs. 10/- consolidated for two years.

Resolved that his Report for the year 1940—41 be adopted.

The accounts of the Society up-to-date are checked and passed.

Resolved to raise the salary of the peon from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 8/- per mensem.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

REPORT OF THE HONORARY LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1939—40.

The number of visitors to the Library and Reading Room from 1—4—1939 to 31—3—1940 was 1914 as against 1344 for the previous year. It is evident that after the shifting of the Library to the present premises a larger number of people are visiting the same and making use of the facilities afforded to them by the Society. The number of books consulted by the visitors during the same period was 1346 out of which about 130 are either periodicals or books dealing with advanced research.

The additions to the Library during the year consisted of 276 periodicals and 70 books, in all 346. Of the books received 17 were sent to us by the authorities of the Tirupathi Devasthanam and 11 were sent by the Baroda Governmentand our thanks are due to them for these valuable additions to our library. Among the volumes supplied by the Commissioner Tirupati Devasthanam special mention may be made of the inscriptions of the time of Saluva Narasimha, Krishna Raya Achuta Raya and Sadasiva Raya. Notable among those sent by the Baroda Government are the works, Mānasōḷḷāsa by king Someswara, Sūktimuktāvale of Bhagadatta Jalhana, Haṁsavilāsa by S'ri Haṁsa Mittu, Tattvasangraha by S'ānti Rakṣita and a Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan. A Bulletin dealing with the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, 'Excavations at Pahranpur, and a Catalogue of the Library at the India office, also deserve special mention among the other books added to the Society's Library during the year.

The number of periodicals on our exchange list is 68. Though on account of the exigencies of the war, we have not of late been receiving some of the foreign periodicals; the number of journals and other periodicals on our exchange list has remained the same as that of last year owing to our receiving new exchanges, among which the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, *Inner Culture* Magazine of India, and *Yoga Mīmāmsa* may be specially mentioned.

RAJAHMUNDRY
7—4—1940.

B. VISWANATHA SASTRY,
Honorary Librarian and Curator.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments A/c for the year 1939–40.

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	A.	P.	PAYMENTS.	Rs.	A.	P.
To Opening Balance ...	103	12	10	By Advances to Secretary ...	36	3	3
„ Mr. K. J. Gopala Rao ...	1	1	1	„ Reddy Empire Day celebrations, Photo, Entertainment and Travelling ...	154	15	6
„ Hon. Treasurer ...	21	1	0	„ Miscellaneous ...	14	9	0
„ Members' subscription ...	249	0	0	„ Postage ...	105	11	0
„ Advance recouped from Secretary ...	31	0	0	„ Establishment ...	96	1	11
„ Municipal Council, Rajahmundry. ...	100	0	0	„ Journal printing ...	290	0	0
„ Miscellaneous ...	8	13	0	„ Rent and Lighting ...	162	0	0
„ Sale of Society's publications ...	274	9	0	„ Stationery (paper) ...	84	14	6
„ Reddi Empire day and Reddi Sanchika ...	55	0	0	„ Clearance of loans ...	104	1	0
„ Institutions subscriptions ...	116	0	0	„ S. B. A/c ...	3	13	0
„ S. B. A/c ...	275	0	0	„ Furniture A/c ...	45	8	0
				„ Travelling ...	2	4	0
				„ Entertainment ...	2	5	0
				„ Closing balance ...	132	14	6
Rs.	1,235	4	11	Rs.	1,235	4	11

Rajahmundry,
D. 14—3—1941

D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant.

LIST OF MEMBERS OE THE SOCIETY

1939—41.

1 Sri Duriseti Apparao,
Bar-at-Law, Mylapore, Madras.
2 „ Vaddadi Apparao, B.A., B. L., Vakil,
Innispeta, Rajahmundry.
3 „ Vissa Apparao, M. A. L. T., Retired Principal,
Rajahmundry, Now Ellore.,
4 „ Tekumalla Atcyutharao, M. A. L. T.,
Pithapuram.
5 „ Chirrayuri Atmaram, B. A., B. L., Vakil,
Innespeta, Rajahmundry.
6 „ Banerjee S., M. A., Lecturer, Govt. High School,
Mirzapur (U. P)
7 „ Rao Bahadur T. Bhagavantam Gupta, Retired Collector,
Satyanilayam, Thyagarayanagar, P. O. Madras.
8 „ Dewan Bhahadur T. Bhujanga Rao, Retired District Judge,
Basavangudi, Bangalore.
9 J. B. Brown, Esq. I. C. S.,
Commissioner of Excise, Madras.
10 „ Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami, Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston. U. S. A.
11 Rev. G. Coleman, Missionary, Luthergiri,
Rajahmundry.
12 Sri K. J. Gopalarao B. A., B. L. Zamindar,
Rajahmundry.
13 „ K. Iswara Dutt, B.A., L.F., Auditor
Cocanada.
14 „ Prof. Henry Heras M. A., S. J. Professor of History,
St. Xaviers College, Bombay.
15 „ Dr. G. Jouveau, Dubreuil, Professor,
Pondicherry.
16 „ D. Ch. Kameswara Rao, B. A.
Venugopalaswami Kovil street, Rajahmundry
17 „ Nyapathi Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L. Advocate,
Rajahmundry.
18 „ Hon. Dewan Bahadur K. P. Lakshmana Rao B. A., B. L.,
Judge, High Court, Mylapore, P.O. Madras.
19 „ Kalipada Mitra M. A., Head master, D. J. College
Monghyr, Behar.
20 „ B. V. S. Narayana Deo, Manager Bissemkatak estate,
Belgaum, Parvatipur, Vizag Dt.

21 „ D. L. Narayana, B. A., B. L., Vakil.
Brodiepet, Guntur.

22 „ Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A.,Ph.D., Lecturer,
C. D. College, Anantapur.

23 „ Paramananda Acharya, B. Sc. State Archæologist,
Baripada Mayurbhanj state.

24 . Capt K. Perraju,
Proprietor, Cocanada.

25 „ Vepa Purnayya, B. A., B. L.,
Retired Sub Judge, Vizagpatam.

26 „ Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar,
112, Sukravarpet, Poona.

27 „ Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan M.A., D. Litt., Vice-Chancellor,
Benares Hindu University, Benares.

28 Sri K. Raghavachari, M. A., B. L., Advocate,
Cocanada.

29 „ Pandit Manvaraya Pandit Hemraj Rajguruji C.I.E.,
Dhokatole, Nepal.

30 „ Chitrapu Nagaraju, B. A., Proprietor, Razan Press,
Rajahmundry.

31 „ Dr. M. Ramarao, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer,
Hindu college, Guntur.

32 „ G. Ramadas Pantulu, B. A.,
Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypore, Orissa.

33 Sir V. Ramesam, B. A., B. L.,
Edward Elliots Road, Mylapore, P. O. Madras.

34 P. S. Rao, Esq., M. A., I. C. S. Commissioner of Excise,
Nagpur, C. P.

35 „ Dr. C. Ramalingareddi, D. Litt. Vice Chancellor,
Maharanipeta, Vizagapatam (Now Guntur).

36 Rev. J. Russel Fink, S. J. Missionary,
Rentachinthala.

37 Sri M. Sambasivarao, Pleader.
Rajahmundry.

38 „ M. Annarreddi, M. A., LL. B. Advocate,
Rajahmundry.

39 „ A. Sankara Rao, B. A., L. T., Teacher
V. H. School, Rajahmundry.

40 „ V. S. Ramachandramurti, M.A.,B.Ed., Teacher,
P. R. College, Cocanada.

41 „ Dr. B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.,
5, Shreemali, Ahmedabad.

42 „ Dr. N. Venkataramayya M. A., Ph. D.,
Reader, Madras University, Madras.

43 ,, Dr. K. R. Subrahmanyam.
Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram.

44 ,, Prof. D, R. Bhandarkar, M.A.Ph.D.,
2/1 Loveluck St.Ballygung, Calcutta.

45 ,, C. Sanyasiraju,
Innespeta, Rajahmundry.

46 ,, R. Visweswara Rao, M. A. B. T. Teacher,
Nidadavole.

47 ,, Rebbapragada Subbarao, B. A., B. L., Advocate,
Rajahmundry.

48 ,, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayya, Advocate General,
Mylapore, Madras.

49 ,, Jandhyala Ramarao, Accounts Officer,
E. B. Railway, Mugalsarai, Benares.

50 ,, M. Sreeramachari,
Main Road, Rajahmundry.

51 ,, D. Sandilya, M. A., (Oxon.) Accounts Officer, G. I. P. Ry,
Bombay.

52 ,, A. D. Pusalkar M.A., LL.B.
324. Vallabhai Patel Road, Bombay.

53 ,, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar M.A., Ph. D.,
Vice Chancellor, Dacca University, P. O. Ramna.

54 ,, D. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer, Calcutta University,
Calcutta.

55 ,, Kotta Bhavayya Choudari,
Sangam Jagarlamudi P. O., Guntur Dt

56 ,, Sripada Lakshmipathi Sastry, Department of Oriental Studies,
Madras University, Madras.

57 ,, Chaganti Sankara Rao, M.A.,B.L.,
No. 8 Bandla Venugopal street, Triplicane, Madras.

58 ,, Raja Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb,
Raja Bahadur Raja of Tekkali, Tekkali.

59 ,, Raja Sri Gopinath Harichandan Jagadeb Bahadur, Raja of
Tekkali Tekkali (died).

60 ,, Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari Avl. M. A., Professor,
Annamalai University, Annamalai nagar, Chidambaram.

61 ,, V. Jayaram Das,
Vetapalem, P. O. Guntur Dt.

62 ,, B. Mallappa, Muncipal Commissioner,
Masulipatam.

63 ,, Korada Ramakrishnayya, Madras University,
Madras.

64 „ B. V. Krishnarao, M. A., B. L., Pleader,
Rajahmundry.
65 „ T. Venkataratnam, M. A., L. T., Lecturer,
A.C. College, Guntur.
66 „ D. Venkatarao, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, C. D. College,
Anantapur.
67 „ Prof. M. Venkatarangayya, M.A., Andhra University,
Guntur.
68 „ G. Venkatrao, M. A., LL. B. Andhra University,
Guntur.
69 „ Vavilla Venkateswara Sastrulu,
Srotriemdar, Tondiarpeta, Madras.
70 „ M. S. H. Thompson, Esq., Inspector of European schools,
Bangalore.
71 „ V. Govindarajachari, B. A., B. L., Advocate,
Mylapore, Madras.
72 „ Dr. V. Sri Ram, M. A., Ph. D., Head of the Department of
Politics, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
73 „ Sree Raja Kandregula Srinivasa Jagannadharao Bahadur,
Zamindar, Rajahmundry.
74 „ B. Viswnatha Sastri, M.A., B.ED., Advocate,
Masulipatam.
75 „ Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., Department of Sanskrit,
Nagpur University, Nagpur.
76 „ K. Venkatrao, B.A.,L.T., Headmaster, S.T.V.N. High school,
Pentapadu.
77 „ Gudavalli Ramabrahmam Chaudari,
159 Loyds Road, Mylapore, Madras.
78 Rev. W. T. Benzi, U. L. C. Mission,
Peddapuram.
79 Rev. A. Gotwald, Missionary,
Chirala.
80 „ M. V. Subrahmanyam, Esq., I. C. S., District Collector,
South Kenera, Mangalore.
81 „ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology,
New Delhi.
82 „ Rao Saheb V. Gopalarao Naidu, Pensioner,
Rajahmundry. (died)
83 Lt. Col. T. G. Gibson, Guardian, of the minor Maharaja of
Bastar state, Jagdalpore, Bastar.
84 Sri Gorrepati Venkatasubbayya,
Ghantasala, Kristna Dt.
85 „ Dr. P. Sreenivasachar M. A., Ph.D.
Principal, S. R. R. College, Bezwada.

86 „ M. Somasekhara Sarma,
Tutor in Epigraphy Andhra University, Guntur.

87 „ Prof. Abdul Majid Siddique, M. A., Osmania University Hyderabad (Dn.).

89 „ Sreeman Purna Chandra Rath, B. A., Superintendent of Archæology, Bolangir, Patna state, Orissa.

90 „ Rallabandi Subba Rao, M.A.,L.T.,
Lecturer, Arts College, Rajahmundry.

91 „ N. R. Kedari Rao, Lecturer,
Teachers College, Saidapet.

92 „ G. Narayanaswami Ayyar. M.A. L.T., Lecturer,
Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry.

93 „ Vidwan G. J. Somayaji, M. A., Department of Telugu,
Andhra University, Guntur.

94 „ Rao Saheb M. Suryanarayana, M. A. L. T., Pensioner,
Danavaipeta, Rajahmundry.

95 „ H. G. Bengeri, M. A., B. T.
Haveri, Dharwar.

96 „ B. Balakrishnan Nair, Govt Arts College,
Danavayipeta, Rajahmundry.

97 „ Prof. Hemchandra Ray. M.A.,Ph.D.,
Lecturer, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

98 „ R. Venkatasivudu, M.A., Retired Principal,
Danavayipeta, Rajahmundry.

99 „ K. N. Anantaraman, Esq., M.A.,I.C.S.,
Estate Collector, Vizianagaram.

100 „ V. B. Raju, Esq., M.A.,I.C.S.,
Judge, Karachi, Sind.

101 „ P. Sitaramayya, Kharagpur.

102 „ S. N. Rao, B.A.,LL.B., (Cantab),
Deputy Collector, Ootacamand.

OUR EXCHANGES.

1 Aryan Path, 51 Esplanade Road, Bombay.
2 *Andhra Sahitya Parishat Patrika,* Cocanada.
3* *Archiv Orientalni,* Prague, Czechoslovakia.
4* Asia Major, Ballygunje, Calcutta.
5 *Bharati,* Madras, 7 Thambu chetty Street.
6 Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.
7* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft,* Halle Germany.
8* Educational Review, Mount Road, Madras.
9 *Epigraphia Indica.*
10 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
11 Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Poona.
12 *Griha Lakshmi.* Royapettah, Madras.
13 Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
14 *Jaina Gazette.*
15 Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
16 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
17 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
18 Journal of Indian History, Madras.
19 Journal of the Bombay Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society.
20 Journal of the Historical Society, Exchange Buildings, Bombay.
21 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
22 Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
23 Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
24 Journal of the Geographical Association, Madras.
26 Journal of the United Provinces Research Society, Lucknow.
27 Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati.
28 Journal of the Bombay University, Bombay.
29 *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika,* Bangalore.
30 *Man in India,* Ranchi. Bihar.
31 Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Society, Trichur.
32 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.
33 *Maha Bodhi* 4 A. College Square Calcutta.
34 Modern Review, Calcutta.
35* Le Monde, Oriental Upsala, Norway.
36 Philosophical Quarterly, Amalner, East Khandesh.
37 Papers of the Kerala Society, Trivandrum, Travancore.
38 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
39 *Journal of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat,* Calcutta.
40 Annual Reports & Memoirs of the Director General of Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi.
41 Annual Reports etc. of Archæological Department of the

Nizam's Govt. Hydrabad (Deccan).

42 Archælogical Department of the Government of Mysore, Mysore.

43 Archæological Department of Travancore.

44 Archæological Department, Djawa (Java).

45 Smithsonian Society, Washington, U. S. A.

46* Publications of Kern Institute, Lieden, Holland.

47 Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

48 *Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala*, 314, Sadasivpet, Poona.

49 Gækwad's Oriental Institute, Baroda.

50 Superintendent, Government Museum, Egmore, Madras.

51* Superintendent, *Musie Guimet*, Paris.

52 Superintendent, Department of Archæology, Gwalior.

53* *Academy des Beaux-aris*, Institute de France, Paris.

54 Journal of the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

55 Indian Culture, Calcutta.

56 Prabudha Karnataka

57* Bibliographic Bhoudhique.

58 *Publications* of the Varendra Research Society, Rajsashi.

59* *Acta Orientala*, Leyden.

60 Nagari Pracharani Patrika, Benares.

61 Triveni, Madras.

62 Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot.

63 Director of Archæological Survey of Celyon, Colombo.

64 Shrine of Wisdom Aahlu 6, Arman Hill, London. E. 11.

65 Brahma Vidya, Bulletin of Adayar Library Adayar Madras.

66 Bulletin of the School of the Oriental studies—London University.

* Those marked with asterisk are not now received.